

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
HERODOTUS,
TRANSLATED
FROM
THE GREEK.
WITH NOTES.

BY
THE REVEREND WILLIAM BELOE.
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTION.

WHOEVER has employed his time on a long and laborious work, is anxious to prove to others, as well as to himself, the utility of what he has performed; since the imputation and the consciousness of having misapplied such efforts, are almost equally unpleasing. If authority be allowed an adequate justification, the translator from classic writers has little occasion to argue in his own defence, the practice of the ablest men in the most enlightened countries being undeniably on his side. Of Italian and French literature, translations from the classics form no small or unimportant part; and if in our own language, accurate versions of many ancient authors be still wanting, the deficiency is, owing, I conceive, to some other cause, rather than to any disapprobation of such works in those by whom they might have been performed. Perhaps the literary rank assigned in this country to translators, is not elevated enough to gratify the ambition of the learned; perhaps the curiosity of the public has not yet been turned sufficiently that way, to make the reward in general proportionate to the labour. Whatever be the cause that more has not been done, translations of eminent merit have appeared among us in a sufficient number,

to prove decisively the opinion held of them by some of our most accurate and judicious scholars. In translating the Ancient Poets, our countrymen have, indeed, very honourably exerted their talents, and their success has proved that our language is fully calculated for the transfusion of the highest classical beauties: while the French, among whom the demand for translations has urged them to be performed at any rate, have been obliged to content themselves with prosaic versions of the noblest poems of antiquity. The honour thus acquired, ought to have encouraged us to proceed in laying open the remaining stores of ancient literature. But it is a humbler task to follow the steps of a prose writer, than to emulate the flights and harmony of a poet.

There appears to be only one important objection, that can be made to works of this nature, which is founded on a fear that they may encourage indolence, and introduce the superficial ostentation of a knowledge neither sound nor accurate, to the prejudice of real learning. That vanity may be furnished, by translations, with the means of pretending to acquisitions which she has not made, cannot perhaps be denied, and such effects may certainly be traced in many writings of our continental neighbours; but that literature will thereby be injured, is not equally capable of proof. The foundation of learning is usually laid, if laid at all, and the taste for it imbibed, if it can be communicated, before the student has the liberty of considering whether it is easier to read the ancients in their own languages or in modern versions;

sions; and till we hear that some persons have studied Greek, because there were books in that language of which they could not find translations, we may rest satisfied, that few, if any, will neglect such studies on the mere prospect of that assistance. But an abuse, if it did exist, ought not to preclude the use; and whoever recollects how much our favourite Shakspeare enlarged the treasures of his active mind, by information deduced from these secondary sources, will confess, at least, that an excellent, as well as an impertinent or idle use may be made of translated Classics.

In this country, where successful industry produces elevation of rank, and gives access to polished society, there will always be many persons, who with enlightened and discerning minds, and a considerable disposition to literature, are debarred from the perusal of ancient authors by the want of a suitable education. Many by birth entitled to every advantage, are early called away from learning to scenes of active occupation. Some such I have seen, and highly value, who, not ashamed of a deficiency occasioned by unavoidable circumstances, or by honest, useful, and honourable occupations, are desirous to form, if possible, complete collections of approved and elegant translations. But whether the desire of such aid be thus general, or directed only to particular authors, whether it be entertained by men or women, it is liberal in its kind, and ought by all means to be gratified.

Nor is it only to unlearned persons that translations may be of service; to those also who are employed in the study of the ancient languages, they are often highly useful. In obscure and perplexed passages, they who publish notes, not unfrequently consult their ease, by passing over in silence what they are not able to explain; and even they by whom the Latin versions annexed to Greek authors were formed, will be found on many occasions, by rendering word for word, to have left the sense as dark as they found it in the original; but a translator into vernacular language, is a commentator, who is bound, if possible, to explain every thing: his version, in order to be approved, must have the air and manner of an original, and he has no more licence to be obscure than if it really were so. Being confined to this attention throughout, he usually examines and compares with greater diligence than any other commentator: he is compelled at least to understand himself, which is one good step towards being intelligible to others, and, where he finds this wholly impracticable, is driven ingenuously to confess it. If this reasoning be not fallacious, it must happen, that, in good versions, illustrations will often be found, which could not be obtained from any editions of the original: this at least I have found by experience in rendering Herodotus, that, after consulting all the commentators, I have frequently been obliged to have recourse to new considerations, before I could make my translation entirely clear and satisfactory to myself.

If the practice of translating be fully approved,
there

there can be no doubt concerning the claim of Herodotus to an early distinction of this kind. His matter is no less curious than diversified, and his history, as far as his own knowledge and diligent researches could make it, entitled to attention and belief. When he approaches to his own times, there is little reason to suspect him of error or inaccuracy; and, whatever we may think of some particulars respecting the Persian invasion, he is in that matter as moderate as any of his countrymen; and, in a case so very extraordinary, the deposition of such a witness must deserve particular consideration.

Yet Herodotus, though mentioned always with respect, and dignified by courtesy with the title of the Father of History, has been treated with some neglect by the English literati. While Thucydides and Xenophon have been naturalized among us, in correct and elegant translations, this Historian, the first remaining link of that important chain, has hitherto been represented only by Littlebury. The scarceness of that translation, notwithstanding the inconvenience of its form, from wanting the usual subdivisions; the entire absence of notes, so particularly necessary to this author; and other defects, which it might seem invidious here to mention, first pointed out the necessity of supplying the public with another. From the nature of the notes subjoined to the present translation, it will easily be perceived, that I have been more desirous to assist and to amuse the English reader, than to claim the credit of abstruse or uncommon learning. It may, indeed, be
* said,

said, by such as are more ready to throw out an acute than a candid observation, that in so doing, I have probably consulted my own strength, as much as the reader's convenience. This I shall neither acknowledge nor deny : but when it shall be seen how various the matter is, which, even for the above-mentioned purposes, I have been obliged to collect, the imputation perhaps will not be thought extremely formidable. For my own part, I shall be fully satisfied with what I have done, if it shall be pronounced, by those who are capable of deciding, that, in so many topics of enquiry, I have in general been happy enough to avoid misleading my readers.

From the notes to M. Larcher's celebrated French translation, which are very numerous, and intended evidently for the critical and the learned, rather than the common reader, I have extracted such as seemed most suited to my own design : to these I have subjoined his name. For the rest, which have the signature of T. annexed, I confess myself responsible : except in the case of a very few, the contribution of one or two friends, which, for many reasons, I should have been glad to have had so numerous, as to have demanded separate signatures. The assistance, however, that I have received, I shall always thankfully acknowledge, and be rather proud to declare, than studious to conceal.

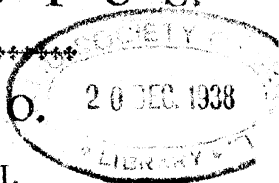
I SHALL now conclude this address, by which, I hope, the reader will be convinced, that I offer

him an useful work, and one executed with the spirit of a man who wishes to serve the public, and to promote the cause of literature. The labour of almost three years is now submitted to his judgment; for which, though I have not conscious dignity enough to disavow it without any apprehension, I request no further indulgence than candour will readily bestow on a work of difficult execution; I have done my best, and must abide the consequences. Avocations, cares, and ill-health, I have had in common with others; but these are so inseparable from human life, that they ought perhaps to be supposed in every estimate of labour. It has been remarked, by critics of deserved eminence and popularity, that the perfections and beauties of a translation are usually, without reserve, referred to the merit of the original work; while all defects and imperfections are heaped upon the shoulders of the poor translator. To this common lot of my brethren, I also very willingly submit; nor can there, perhaps, be two authors more likely to justify such decisions than Herodotus and his Translator. Had I been aware how much of my time would be occupied by this undertaking, I should probably have shrunk from it: now it is completed, whether I shall again venture upon that perilous ocean, where many a braver heart than mine has trembled, will depend perhaps upon the degree of approbation which the present adventure shall obtain from my impartial and judicious countrymen.



HERODOTUS.

C L I O.



CHAP. I.



O rescue from oblivion the memory of former incidents, and to render a just tribute of renown to the many great and wonderful actions, both of Greeks and Barbarians¹, Herodotus³ of Halicarnassus produces this Historical Essay.

Among

¹ The simplicity with which Herodotus commences his History, and enters immediately on his Subject, has been much and deservedly admired, and exhibits a striking contrast to the elaborate introductions of modern writers. It is not, however, peculiar to Herodotus; it was the beautiful distinction of almost all the more ancient authors.—*T.*

² *Barbarians.*]—As this word so frequently occurs in the progress of our work, it may be necessary, once for all, to advertise the English reader, that the ancients used it in a much milder sense than we do. Much as has been said of the pride of the old Romans, the word in question may tend to prove, that they were in some instances less tenacious of their national dignity than the Greeks. The appellation of Barbarians was given by the Greeks to all the world but themselves; the Romans gave it to all the world, but the Greeks.—*T.*

³ *Herodotus.*]—It has been suggested as a doubt, by many of the learned, whether it ought not to be written Erodotos. For

Among other things, it will be necessary to investigate the sources of the hostilities which subsisted between these people. The more learned of the Persians assert the Phœnicians to have been the original excitors of contention. This nation migrated from the borders of the Red Sea⁴ to the place of their present settlement, and soon distinguished themselves by their long and enterprizing voyages⁵. They exported to Argos, amongst other places,

my own part, as I am able to remember no proper name terminating in *dorus* and *dotus*, as Diodorus, Diodotus, Heliôdorus, &c. which is not derived from the name of a divinity, I have no scruple in asserting my belief, that it must be Herodotus, compounded of *dotus* and the Greek name of *Juno*.—7.

There is hardly any author, ancient or modern, who has been more warmly commended or more vehemently censured than this eminent Historian; but even the severe Dionysius declares, he is one of those enchanting writers, whom you peruse to the last syllable with pleasure, and still wish for more. Plutarch himself, who has made the most violent attack on his veracity, allows him all the merit of beautiful composition.—Hayley.

* *From the borders of the Red Sea.*]—When Herodotus speaks, for the first time, of any people, he always goes to their original source. Some authors make the Phœnicians to have originated from the Persian Gulph; which opinion, though reported, is not believed by Strabo. Voltaire, taking it for granted that they migrated by sea, ridicules the idea of their coming from the Red Sea to Phœnicia; as well he might. Larcher proves, in the most satisfactory manner, that his misconception arose from his ignorance of Greek. It is evident from another passage in Herodotus (Book vii. chap. 89.) that the Phœnicians, when they changed their place of residence, passed over by land.—Larcher (principally.)

* *Long and enterprizing voyages.*]—The first among the
Greeks

places, the produce of Ægypt and Affyria. Argos, at that period, was the most famous of all those states which are now comprehended under the general appellation of Greece⁶. On their arrival here, the Phœnicians exposed their merchandize to sale; after remaining about six days, and when they had almost disposed of their different articles of commerce, the king's daughter, whom both nations agree in calling Io, came among a great number of other women to visit them at their station. Whilst these females, standing near the stern of the vessel, amused themselves with bargaining for such things as attracted their curiosity, the Phœnicians, in conjunction, made an attempt to seize their persons. The greater part of them escaped, but Io remained a captive, with many others. They carried them on board, and directed their course for Ægypt.

II. The

Greeks who undertook long voyages were the Ionians. Upon this people, Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, has the following remark: "From the general character by which Homer constantly distinguishes the Phœnicians, as a commercial and seafaring people, it has been naturally supposed, that he was indebted to that nation for much of his information with regard to distant voyages. I think we cannot be at a loss to account for the poet's acquiring, *at home*, all the knowledge of this kind which we meet with in his works. We know the Ionians were amongst the earliest navigators, particularly the Phocæans and Milesians. The former are expressly called the discoverers of Adria, Iberia, Tuscany, and Tartessus."—*Wood on Homer*.

⁶ *Greece*.]—The region known by the name of Helias or Greece, in the time of Herodotus, was, previous to the Trojan war, and indeed long afterwards, only discriminated by the names

II. The relation of the Greeks differs essentially; but this, according to the Persians, was the cause of Io's arrival in Egypt, and the first act of violence which was committed. In process of time, certain Grecians, concerning whose country writers disagree, but who were really of Crete, are reported to have touched at Tyre, and to have carried away Europa, the daughter of the prince. Thus far the Greeks had only retaliated⁷; but they were certainly guilty of the second provocation. They made a voyage in a vessel of war⁸ to *Æa*, a city of Colchos, near the river Phasis; and, after having accomplished the more immediate object of their expedition, they forcibly carried off the king's daughter, Medea. The king of Colchos dispatched a herald to demand satisfaction for the affront, and the restitution of the princess; but the Greeks replied, that

of its different inhabitants. Homer speaks of the Danaans, Argives, Achæans, &c. but never gives these people the general name of Greeks.—*Larcher*.

⁷ *Thus far the Greeks had only retaliated.*]—The Editor is in possession of a translation of the two first books of Herodotus, published in London so early as the year 1584. It is in black letter, and may be considered as a great curiosity. The above passage is thus rendered: "It chanced afterward, that certaine Greekes, whose names they knew not, taking shore and landing at Tyrus, in like manner made a rape of the kinges daughter, named Europa. These were the people of Crete, otherwise called the Cretenses. By which meanes yt was cardes and cardes betweene them, the one beyng full meete and quit with the other."—*The first Booke of Clie, London, 1584.*

⁸ *In a vessel of war.*]—Literally in a long vessel.—The long vessels were vessels of war, the round vessels, merchantmen and transports.—*T.*

they

they should make no reparation in the present instance, as the violence formerly offered to Io⁹ remained still unexpiated,

III. In the age which followed, Alexander, the son of Priam, encouraged by the memory of these events, determined on obtaining a wife from Greece, by means of similar violence; fully persuaded that this, like former wrongs, would never be avenged.

Upon the loss of Helen, the Greeks at first employed messengers to demand her person, as well as a compensation for the affront. All the satisfaction they received was reproach for the injury which had been offered to Medea; and they were farther asked, how, under circumstances entirely alike, they could reasonably require, what they themselves had denied,

IV. Hitherto the animosity betwixt the two nations extended no farther than to acts of personal and private violence. But at this period, continue the Persians, the Greeks certainly laid the foundation of subsequent contention; who, before the Per-

⁹ *Violence formerly offered to Io.*]—It may be urged that the king of Colchos had nothing to do with the violence offered to Io; she was carried off by the Phœnicians. But, according to the Persians, all the nations of Asia composed but one body, of which they were the head. Any injury, therefore, offered to one of the members, was considered as an hostility against the whole. Thus, as we see in a succeeding paragraph, the Persians considered the Greeks as their enemies, from the time of the destruction of Troy.—*Larcher.*

fians ever invaded Europe, doubtless made military incursions into Asia. The Persians appear to be of opinion, that they who offer violence to women must be insensible to the impressions of humanity and justice, but that such provocations are as much beneath revenge, as the women themselves are undeserving of regard: it being obvious, that all the females thus circumstanced must have been more or less accessory¹⁰ to the fact. They asserted also, that although women had been forcibly carried away from Asia, they had never resented the affront. The Greeks, on the contrary, to avenge the rape of a Lacedæmonian woman, had assembled a mighty fleet, entered Asia in a hostile manner, and had totally overthrown the empire of Priam. Since which event they had esteemed themselves justified in considering the Greeks as the public enemies of their nation. It is to be observed, that the Persians

¹⁰ *More or less accessory, &c.*]—Plutarch, who has written an essay expressly to convict Herodotus of malignity, introduces this as the first argument of the truth of his accusation. The Greeks, says he, unanimously affirm, that Io had divine honours paid her by the Barbarians; that many seas and capacious harbours were called after her name; that to her many illustrious families owe their original: yet this celebrated writer does not hesitate to say of her, that she suffered herself to be enjoyed by a Phœnician mariner, with whom she fled, from the fear of being disgraced by the publication of her crime. He afterwards endeavours to throw an odium on the most illustrious actions of his countrymen, by intimating that the Trojan war was undertaken on account of a profligate woman. “For it is evident,” says he, “that these women would have been never carried away except with their own consent.”—*Plutarch on the malignity of Herodotus.*

esteem Asia, with all its various and barbarous inhabitants, as their own peculiar possession, considering Europe and Greece as totally distinct and unconnected.

V. The above is the Persian tradition; who date the cause and origin of their enmity to Greece from the destruction of Troy. What relates to Io is denied by the Phœnicians; who affirm, that she was never forcibly carried into Ægypt. They assert, that during their continuance at Argos, she had an illicit connection with the pilot of their vessel¹¹, and, proving pregnant, she voluntarily accompanied them to Ægypt, to avoid the detection of her crime and the indignation of her parents. Having now stated the different representations of the Persians and Phœnicians, I shall not detain the reader by an investigation of the truth of either narrative. I shall commence with an account of that personage, of whose first attacks upon Greece there exists the most unquestionable testimony. I shall, as I proceed, describe with some minuteness the smaller cities and larger communities: for, many of these,

¹¹ *Connection with the pilot of their vessel.*]—I make no apology for inserting the following singular translation of the above passage:—"With whose assertions the Phœnices agree not aboute the lady Io; whom they flatly denye to have beene caryed by them into Ægypt in manner of a rape: shewinge howe that in their abode at Argos, shee fortun'd to close with the mayster of a shippe, and feelinge herselfe to bee spedde, fearynge and doubtinge greatlye the severitee and cruell tyrannie of her parentes, and the detection of her owne follye, shee willinglye toke shippe and fledde strayght awaye."—*Firste Booke of Clio.*

at present possessed neither of opulence nor power, were formerly splendid and illustrious; others have, even within my remembrance, risen from humility to grandeur. From my conviction, therefore, of the precarious nature of human felicity¹², these shall all be respectively described.

VI. Cræsus, by descent a Lydian, was the son of Alyattes, and sovereign of those countries which lie on this side the river Halys. This stream, in its passage from the south¹³ towards the north, passes

¹² *Precarious nature of human felicity.*]—This moral reflection of Herodotus cannot fail of bringing to mind the consolatory letter written from Greece, by Sulpicius to Cicero, on the death of Tullia the orator's daughter. At the distance of more than four hundred years from the time of Herodotus, Sulpicius thus expresses himself on a similar occasion:—"On my return from Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara, I could not help looking round on the circumjacent country. Behind me was Ægina, before me Megara, Piræus on my right hand, Corinth on my left; all which places, formerly flourishing and happy, now laid before my eyes prostrate and in ruins, &c." The whole letter is eminently beautiful, and I lament that it is beyond our limits to transcribe it.—*T.*

¹³ *This stream, in its passage from the south.*]—There are different opinions concerning the course of this river. Arrian says, that it does not flow from the south, but from the east. This author, having in his mind the place of the sun's rising in winter, accuses Herodotus of a mistake in the passage before us. Wesseling had the same idea, who nevertheless has not solved the difficulty. The truth is, there were two rivers of this name, the one rising from the south, the other from the east. Herodotus speaks of the first, Arrian of the last. D'Anville is of the same opinion.—*Larcher.*

through

through Syria ¹⁴ and Paphlagonia ¹⁵, and finally empties itself into the Euxine. Crœsus, we have reason to believe, was the first of the Barbarian princes who exacted tribute from some nations of Greece, and entered into leagues of amity with others. Before his time, the Greeks were universally free; he, however, subdued the Æolians, the Ionians, with such of the Dorians as are situate in Asia, whilst he formed a friendly alliance with the Lacedæmonians. It appears that the incursion of the Cimmerians ¹⁶ into Ionia, was before the time of Crœsus; but their sole object was plunder, and none of the cities were molested,

VII. The family of Crœsus were termed the Mermnadæ; and it may be proper to relate by

¹⁴ *Syria.*]—Syria was at that time the name of Cappadocia. See Chapter lxxvi.—*T*.

¹⁵ *Paphlagonia.*—It may appear matter of surprize to some, that Herodotus should make the Syrians border on the Paphlagonians. But by the Syrians, Herodotus here means the Cappadocians, called by the Greeks Leuco, or White Syrians. This is obvious from Strabo, as well as from Herodotus himself, in his second Book.—*Palmerius.*

¹⁶ *Cimmerians.*]—Strabo dates this incursion of the Cimmerians about the time of Homer, or somewhat before. Wesseling thinks, and with reason, the authority of the geographer of less weight than that of our historian, who supposes it to have been in the reign of Ardyis. See chap. xv. of this Book; and chap. xii. of Book IV. For my own part, I am of opinion that the two authors speak of two distinct incursions. Herodotus refers to the last. At the time of the first there were no Greek cities in Asia Minor; and it was his intention to intimate, that the last had no operation injurious to the liberties of Greece.—*Larcher.*

what

what means the empire descended to them from the Heraclidæ. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was king of Sardis, and of the family of Alcæus the son of Hercules¹⁷. The first of the Heraclidæ was Agron¹⁸, who reigned also at Sardis; he was the son of Ninus, the grandson of Belus, the great-grandson of Alcæus. Candaules the son of Myrsus was the last of this race. The people of this district were in ancient times called Meonians; they were afterwards named Lydians, from Lydus the son of Atys. From him, before the time of Agron, the princes of the country derived their origin. The Heraclidæ, descended from Hercules and a female slave of Jardanus¹⁹, enjoyed a delegated authority from these princes, and afterwards obtained the supreme dignity from the decla-

¹⁷ *Alcæus the son of Hercules.*]—Concerning the name of the son of Hercules by the female slave of Jardanus, Diodorus Siculus and our historian are at variance. Herodotus calls him Alcæus, Diodorus says his name was Cleolaus. But it is by no means surprizing, that in matters of such remote antiquity writers should disagree. Apollodorus contradicts both Herodotus and Diodorus, and makes Cræsus not one of the Merminadæ, but one of the Heraclidæ, born of Agelaus son of Hercules by Omphale. Diodorus calls the son of Hercules, by Omphale, Lacon. I presume not to decide in this controversy, but with me the authority of Herodotus has the greatest weight.—*Palmerius.*

¹⁸ *Agron.*]—Thus the best manuscripts spell this name. Julius Pollux says, that Ninus, son of Belus, called his son Agron because he was born in the country.—*Larcher.*

¹⁹ *Jardanus.*]—In contradiction to both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, Pakephatus de Incredibilibus writes Jordanus.—*T.*

ration of an oracle. They retained their power, in regular and uninterrupted succession, from father to son, to the time of Candaules, a period equal to twenty-two ages of man ²⁰, being no less than five hundred and five years.

VIII. Candaules ²¹ was attached to his wife beyond the common limits of affection, and conceived,

²⁰ *Twenty-two ages of man.*]—For twenty-two, Larcher reads fifteen ages.—That it ought to be so we are ready enough to believe, and his arguments on the subject are clear, ingenious, and convincing; but, having no authority for this reading in any edition which we have had the opportunity of consulting, it was thought proper literally to translate the text.—*T.*

²¹ *Candaules.*]—The story of Rosamond, queen of the Lombards, as recited by Mr. Gibbon, bears so exact a resemblance to this of Candaules, that we are unable to forego the pleasure of transcribing it.—“The queen of Italy had stooped from her throne to the arms of a subject: and Helmichis, the king’s armour-bearer, was the secret minister of her pleasure, and revenge. Against the proposal of the murder he could no longer urge the scruples of fidelity or gratitude; but Helmichis trembled when he revolved the danger, as well as the guilt. He pressed, and obtained, that one of the bravest champions of the Lombards should be associated to the enterprize; but no more than a promise of secrecy could be drawn from the gallant Perideus.—The mode of seduction employed by Rosamond, betrays her shameless insensibility both to honour and to love. She supplied the place of one of her female attendants, who was beloved by Perideus, and contrived some excuse for darkness and silence, till she could inform her companion, that he had enjoyed the queen of the Lombards, and that his own death, or the death of the king, must be the consequence of such treasonable adultery. In this alternative he chose rather to be the accomplice than the victim of Rosamond, whose undaunted spirit was incapable of fear or remorse.—*Gibbon.*

in the ardour of his passion, that her beauty was beyond all competition. Among those who attended near his person, Gyges the son of Dascylus had rendered him essential service, and was honoured by his particular confidence. To him he frequently extolled the beauty of his wife, in exaggerated terms. Under the influence of a most fatal delusion, he took an opportunity of thus addressing him: “Gyges, I am satisfied, that we receive less conviction from what we hear, than from what we see²², and, as you do not seem to credit all I tell you of my wife’s personal accomplishments, I am determined that you shall see her naked.” “Suffer me,” replied Gyges, “to remonstrate against the imprudence of your proposal. Remember, Sir, that with
her

²² *From what we hear, than from what we see.*]—Dionysius Halicarnassensis remarks on this passage, that Herodotus here, introducing a Barbarian to notice, makes use of a figurative expression peculiarly appropriate to Barbarians; substituting the ears and the eyes for the discourse and the sight of objects.

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem

Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.

Hor. Ars Poet. 180.

Polybius coincides in part with our historian, when he advances, that nature having provided us with two instruments, if they may be so termed, of the senses, hearing and sight, the latter, according to Heraclitus, is the most certain, the eyes being more decisive evidences than the ears. This is in many respects true; but Theophrastus has sagaciously remarked, according to Plutarch, that of all the senses the ear is that by which the passions may be the most easily excited.—*Larcher.*

Our veneration for the ancients, however, must not prevent

her cloaths a woman puts off her modesty²³. Many are the precepts recorded by the sages for our instruction, but there is none more entitled to our regard than that ‘it becomes a man to look into those things only which concern himself.’ I give implicit confidence to your assertions, I am willing to believe my mistress the most beautiful of her sex; but I beg you not to repeat a request with which it will be criminal to comply.”

IX. Gyges, from apprehension of the event, would have persevered in his refusal; but the king

us from perceiving, that both the above remarks want solidity. The truth is, that we do not more implicitly believe our eyes than our ears, or the contrary, except in those cases which respectively demand the testimony of either organs. It should be remembered, that when any thing is related to us, our ears give no kind of testimony concerning the fact, they inform us only that such words are spoken to us: after which, if what is related be an object of sight, we wish to appeal to our eyes for proof; if an object of hearing, to our ears; if of taste, smell, or touch, to the organs formed for such decision: and this is the sole ground of preference in any case. The remark of Horace rests on a different foundation, and is very just.—*T.*

²³ *With her cloaths a woman puts off her modesty.*]—We can by no means, says Plutarch, in his *Conjugal Precepts*, allow this saying of Herodotus to be true: for surely, at this time, a modest woman is most effectually veiled by bashfulness, when the purest but most diffident affection proves, in the privacy of matrimonial retirement, the surest testimony of reciprocated love.—*T.*

Timæus in Athenæus affirms, that the Tyrrhenians accustomed themselves to be waited upon by naked women; and Theopompus, in the same author, adds, that in the above-mentioned nation it was by no means disgraceful for women to appear naked amongst men.—*Larcher.*

could

could not be dissuaded from his purpose. "Gyges," he resumed, "you have nothing to fear from me or from your mistress; I do not want to make experiment of your fidelity, and I shall render it impossible for the queen to detect you. I myself will place you behind an open door of the apartment in which we sleep. As soon as I enter, my wife will make her appearance; it is her custom to undress herself at leisure, and to place her garments one by one on a chair near the entrance. You will have the fairest opportunity of contemplating her person. As soon as she approaches the bed, and her face is turned from you, you must be careful to leave the room without being discovered.

X. Gyges had no alternative but compliance. At the time of retiring to rest, he accompanied Candaules to his chamber, and the queen soon afterwards appeared. He saw her enter, and gradually disrobe herself. She approached the bed; and Gyges endeavoured to retire, but the queen saw and knew him. She instantly conceived her husband to be the cause of her disgrace, and determined on revenge. She had the presence of mind to restrain the emotions of her wounded delicacy, and to seem entirely ignorant of what had happened; although, among all the Barbarian nations²⁴,
and

²⁴ *Among all the Barbarian nations.*]—Plato informs us, that the Greeks had not long considered it as a thing equally disgraceful and ridiculous for a man to be seen naked; an opinion, says he, which still exists amongst the greater part of the Barbarians.—*Larcher.*

and among the Lydians in particular, for even a man to be seen naked, is deemed a matter of the greatest turpitude.

XI. The queen persevered in the strictest silence; and, having instructed some confidential servants for the occasion, she sent in the morning for Gyges. He, not at all suspicious of the event, complied instantly with the message, as he was accustomed to do at other times, and appeared before his mistress²⁵. As soon as he came into her presence, she thus ad-

To the above remark of Larcher may be added, that, according to Plutarch, it was amongst the institutes of Lycurgus, that the young women of Sparta should dance naked at their solemn feasts and sacrifices; at which time also they were accustomed to sing certain songs, whilst the young men stood in a circle about them, to see and hear them.—*T.*

²⁵ *Appeared before his mistress.*]—The wife of Candaules, whose name Herodotus forbears to mention, was, according to Hephæstion, called Nyssia. Authors are divided in their account of this Gyges, and of the manner in which he slew Candaules. Plato makes him a shepherd in the service of the Lydian king, who was possessed of a ring which he found on the finger of a dead man inclosed within a horse of bronze. The shepherd, learning the property which this ring had, to render him invisible when the seal was turned to the inside of his hand, got himself deputed to the court by his fellows, where he seduced the queen, and assassinated Candaules. Xenophon says he was a slave; but this is not inconsistent with the account of Plato, were it in other respects admissible. Plutarch pretends, that Gyges took up arms against Candaules, assisted by the Milesians. The opinion of Herodotus seems preferable to the rest: born in a city contiguous to Lydia, no person could be better qualified to represent what relates to that kingdom.

Larcher.

dressed

ressed him: " Gyges, I submit two proposals to your choice; you must either destroy Candaules, and take possession of me and of the kingdom, or expect immediate death. Your unqualified obedience to your master, may prompt you to be once again a spectator of what modesty forbids: the king has been the author of my disgrace; you also, in seeing me naked, have violated decorum; and it is necessary that one of you should die." Gyges, after he had somewhat recovered from his astonishment, implored her not to compel him to so delicate and difficult an alternative. But when he found that all expostulations were in vain, and that he must either put Candaules to death, or die himself, he chose rather to be the survivor. " Since my master must perish," he replied, " and, notwithstanding my reluctance, by my hands, by what means can your purpose be accomplished?" " The deed," she answered, " shall be perpetrated in that very place which was the scene of my disgrace. You shall kill my husband in his sleep."

²⁶ XII. Their measures were accordingly concerted: Gyges had no opportunity of escape, nor of evading the alternative before proposed. At the approach of night, the queen conducted him to her chamber, and placed him behind the same door,

²⁶ Upon the event recorded in this chapter, the firste booke of Clio has this curious remark in the margin: " The Devil in old tyme a dispofer of kingdomes, and since the Pope."—T.

with a dagger in his hand. Candaules was murdered in his sleep, and Gyges took immediate possession of his wife and of the empire. Of the above event, Archilochus²⁷ of Paros, who lived about the same period, has made mention in some Iambic verses.

XIII. A declaration of the Delphic oracle, confirmed Gyges in his possession of the sovereignty. The Lydians resented the fate of Candaules, and had recourse to arms. A stipulation was at length made betwixt the different parties, that if the oracle decided in favour of Gyges, he should continue on the throne; if otherwise, it should revert to the

²⁷ *Archilochus.*]—As without these concluding lines the sense would be complete, many have suspected them to have been inserted by some copyist. Scaliger has reasoned upon them, as if Herodotus meant to intimate, that because Archilochus makes mention of Gyges in his verses, he must have lived at the same period; but this by no means follows.

Of Archilochus, Quintilian remarks, that he was one of the first writers of Iambics; that his verses were remarkable for their ingenuity, their elegant style, and nervous sentiment. Book x. chap. 1.—He is also honourably mentioned by Horace, who confesses that he imitates him. See 19th Epistle, Book 1st. Ovid, if the Ibis be his, speaks too of the Parian Poet. Cicero, in his Tusculan Questions, says, that he lived in the time of Romulus. His compositions were so extremely licentious, that the Lacedæmonians ordered them to be removed from their city, and Archilochus himself to be banished. He was afterwards killed in some military excursion, by a person of the name of Coracus. Whoever wishes to have a more particular account of Archilochus, may consult Lilius Gyrardus de Poetar. Histor. dialog. ix. chap. 14.

Heraclidæ. Although Gyges retained the supreme authority, the words of the oracle expressly intimated, that the Heraclidæ should be avenged in the person of the fifth descendant of Gyges. To this prediction, until it was ultimately accomplished, neither prince nor people paid the smallest attention. Thus did the Mermnadæ obtain the empire, to the injurious exclusion of the Heraclidæ.

XIV. Gyges, as soon as he was established in his authority, sent various presents to Delphi²⁸, a considerable quantity of which were of silver. Among other marks of his liberality, six golden goblets²⁹, which weighed no less than thirty talents, deserve

²⁸ *Presents to Delphi.*]—Amongst the subjects of literary controversy betwixt Boyle and Bentley, this was one: Boyle defended *Delphos*, principally from its being the common usage: Bentley rejects *Delphos* as a barbarism, it being merely the accusative case of *Delphi*. He tells a story of a Popish Priest, who for thirty years had read *mumplimus* in his Breviary, instead of *sumpsinus*; and, when a learned man told him of his blunder, replied, I will not change my old *mumplimus* for your new *sumpsinus*. From a similar mistake in the old editions of the Bible in Henry the Eighth's time, it was printed *Affon* and *Mileton*; under Queen Elizabeth, it was changed into *Affon* and *Miletum*; but in the reign of James the First, it was rectified to *Affos* and *Miletus*.—*T.* See *Bentley on Phalaris*.

²⁹ *Six golden goblets.*]—In the time of Herodotus, the proportion of silver to gold was as one to thirteen: these six goblets, therefore, were equivalent to 2,106,000 livres. The calculations of Herodotus differ in some respects from those of Diodorus Siculus.—*Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis.*

Alyattes and Cræsus obtained their wealth from some mines in Lydia situated between Atama and Pergamos. The riches

deserve particular mention. These now stand in the treasury of Corinth; though, in strict truth, that treasure was not given by the people of Corinth, but by Cypselus the son of Eetion³⁰. This Gyges was the first of the barbarians whose history we know, who made votive offerings to the oracle, after Midas the son of Gordius³¹, king of Phrygia. Midas consecrated to this purpose his own royal throne, a most beautiful specimen of art, from which he himself was accustomed to administer justice. This was deposited in the same place with the goblets of Gyges, to whose offerings of gold and silver the Delphians assigned the name of the donor. Gyges, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, carried his arms against Miletus and Smyrna, and took the city Colophon. Although he reigned thirty-eight years, he performed no other remarkable exploit: we shall proceed, therefore, to speak of his son and successor, Ardys.

of Gyges were proverbial, and were mentioned in the verses of Archilochus: those of Cræsus effectually surpassed them.

Divitis audita est cui non opulentia Cræsi.—Ovid.

Larcher.

³⁰ *But by Cypselus the son of Eetion.*]—In the temple at Delphi were certain different apartments or chapels, belonging to different cities, princes, or opulent individuals. The offerings which these respectively made to the Deity, were here deposited.—*Larcher.*

³¹ *Midas the son of Gordius.*]—There were in Phrygia a number of princes called after these names, as is sufficiently proved by Bouhier.—*Larcher.*

XV. This prince vanquished the Prienians, and attacked Miletus. During his reign, the Cimmerians, being expelled their country by the Nomades of Scythia, passed over into Asia, and possessed themselves of all Sardis, except the citadel.

XVI. After reigning forty-nine years, he was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years. After him, his son Alyattes possessed the throne. He carried on war against Cyaxares³² the grandson of Deioces, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna, which Colophon³³ had built, and invaded Clazomenæ. In his designs upon this place he was disappointed; but he performed, in the course of his reign, many very memorable actions.

XVII. He resumed against the Milesians, the war which his father had commenced; and he conducted it in this manner:—As the time of harvest approached, he marched an army into their country,

³² *Against Cyaxares.*]—This is perfectly consistent. Phraortes, the father of Cyaxares, reigned in Media at the same time that Ardys, grandfather of Alyattes, sat on the throne of Sardis.
—Larcher.

³³ *Colophon.*]—Gyges had taken Colophon, about which time doubtless a colony deserted it, and settled at Smyrna. Κτίζω, as Wesseling properly observes, is continually used for, to send out a colony. In chap. cl. it is said, that some Colophonians, banished for sedition, had settled at Smyrna. If he alludes to the same emigrants, their sedition was probably against Gyges, after his conquest; but these could hardly be numerous or respectable enough to deserve the name of a colony.—T.

to the sound of the pastoral pipe, harp, and flutes masculine and feminine ³⁴. On his arrival in their territories, he neither burned, nor in any respect injured, their edifices which stood in the fields; but he totally destroyed the produce of their lands, and then returned. As the Milesians were securely situated near the sea, all attack upon their city would probably have proved ineffectual. His motive for not destroying their buildings was, that they might be induced again to cultivate their lands, and that on every repetition of his incursions he might be secure of plunder.

XVIII. In this manner was the war protracted during a period of eleven years; in which time the Milesians received two remarkable defeats, one in a pitched battle at Limeneium, within their own territories, another on the plains of Meander. Six of these eleven years, Sadyattes the son of Ardys reigned over the Lydians: he commenced the Milesian war, which his son Alyattes afterwards continued with increase of ardour. The Milesians, in this contest, received no assistance from any of their neighbours, except from Chios. The inhabitants of Chios offered their support, in return for the aid which they had formerly received from the Milesians, in a war with the Erythræans.

³⁴ *Flutes masculine and feminine.*]—Aulus Gellius says, that Alyattes had in his army female players on the flute. Larcher is of opinion, that Herodotus alludes only to the different kinds of flutes mentioned in Terence, or perhaps to the Lydian and Phrygian flutes, the sound of one of which was grave, of the other acute.—Y.

XIX. In the twelfth year of the war, the following event happened, in consequence of the corn being set on fire by the enemy's army. A sudden wind directed the progress of the flames against the temple of the Assesian Minerva³⁵, and entirely consumed it. It was not at first considered as a matter of any importance; but after the return of the army to Sardis, Alyattes was seized with a severe and lingering disease. From the impulse of his own mind, or from the persuasion of his friends, he sent to make enquiries of the oracle concerning his recovery. On the arrival of his messengers, they were informed, that till the temple of the Assesian Minerva, which they had consumed by fire, should be restored, no answer would be given them.

XX. Of this circumstance I myself was informed at Delphi; but the Milesians add more. They inform us, that Periander the son of Cypselus, when he heard the answer given to Alyattes, dispatched an emissary to Thrasymbulus king of Miletus, with whom he was intimately connected, desiring him to pay suitable attention to the present emergency. This is the Milesian narrative.

³⁵ *Assesian Minerva.*]—Assesos was a small town dependent on Miletus. Minerva here had a temple, and hence took the name of the Assesian Minerva. This deity was then called the Minerva of Assesos, as we say, at the present day, the Virgin of Loretto.—*Larcher.*

The Virgin, in the Romish church, certainly resembles, in all respects, a heathen tutelary divinity; and affords one of those instances of similarity between one worship and the other, so well illustrated in Middleton's celebrated Letter from Rome.—*T.*

XXI. Alyattes, on the return of his messengers, dispatched an herald to Miletus, whose commission was, to make a truce with Thrasybulus for such time as might be required to repair the temple. Thrasybulus, in consequence of the intimation he had received, was aware of the intentions of Alyattes, and conducted himself in this manner: All the corn which was contained, or could be procured at Miletus, was, by his direction, collected in the most public place of the city: he then ordered the Milesians, at an appointed period, to commence a scene of feasting and convivial mirth ³⁶.

XXII. Thrasybulus intended the Sardian ambassador should inform his master of the scene of festivity, and of the abundance of provisions he had beheld. He was not disappointed: the herald witnessed the above-mentioned spectacle, delivered his message, and returned to Sardis. This, as I have been informed, was the sole occasion of the peace which ensued.

Alyattes had imagined, that the Milesians suffered exceedingly from the scarcity of corn, and were reduced to extreme distress. The return of his messenger convinced him he had been mistaken. A strict alliance was immediately formed betwixt the two nations: instead of one, Alyattes erected two temples to Minerva, and was soon afterwards re-

³⁶ *Convivial mirth.*]—Many stratagems of a similar nature with this of Thrasybulus, may be found in the *Stratagemata* of Polyænus; a book not so well known as it merits.—7.

stored to health.—The above is a faithful account of the war betwixt Alyattes and the Milesians.

XXIII. Periander, who communicated to Thra-sybulus the information above recited, was king of Corinth. A most wonderful incident is said by the Corinthians to have happened in his time, and the story is confirmed by the Lesbians. It is asserted, that Arion the Methymnæan was carried to Tænarus on the back of a dolphin. ³⁷ He excelled all his cotemporaries in his exquisite performance on the harp; and we have reason to suppose he was the first who invented, named, and taught at Corinth, the Dithyrambic measure ³⁸.

XXIV. After residing for a considerable time at the court of Periander, he was desirous of visiting Italy and Sicily. Acquiring there considerable wealth, he wished to return with it to Corinth: with this view, he embarked at Tarentum in a Corinthian vessel, preferring the mariners of that na-

³⁷ *He excelled.*]—Arion, it seems, was a Citharædus, which differed from the Citharistes in this: the former accompanied his instrument with his voice; the latter did not.

³⁸ *Dithyrambic measure.*]—This was a kind of verse or hymn in honour of Bacchus, or in praise of drinking: it was a rude and perplexed composition, replete with figurative and obscure expressions.—*Bellanger.*

Clemens of Alexandria affirms, that the inventor of the Dithyrambic was Lassus or Lafus of Hermione. It should seem, however, from Pindar and his scholiast, that this species of poetry is so very ancient that its original inventor cannot be ascertained.—*Larcher.*

tion. As soon as they stood out to sea, the sailors determined to destroy Arion, for the sake of his riches. He discerned their intentions, and offered them his money to preserve his life. The men were obdurate, and insisted, that he should either kill himself, that they might bury him on shore³⁹, or leap instantly into the sea. Reduced to this extremity, he intreated, that if they would not spare his life, they would at least suffer him to decorate himself in his most valuable cloaths, and to give them a specimen of his art in singing; promising, that as soon as he had finished, he would destroy himself. They were anxious to hear a man, reputed the greatest performer in the world, and, in compliance with his request, retired from him, to the centre of their vessel. He accordingly dressed himself sumptuously, and, standing on the side of the ship with his harp in his hand, he sang to them a species of song, termed Orthian⁴⁰. As soon as he had finished, he threw himself, dressed as he was, into the sea.

The

³⁹ *Bury him on shore.*]—This passage, which perplexed the learned Reiske, seems to me sufficiently clear. The sailors indirectly promised Arion that they would bury him, if he would be the instrument of his own death.—*Wesseling*.

⁴⁰ *Orthian.*]—The Orthian hymn was an air performed either on a flute or cithara, in an elevated key and a quick time. It was, therefore, peculiarly adapted to animate combatants. See Aulus Gellius. By this species of song, Timotheus so inflamed the ardour of Alexander, that he instantly leaped up and called for his arms. See Eustathius. See also, Dryden's Ode on St. Cecilia's Day.—Maximus Tyrius says, that to excite military ardour, the Orthian song was peculiarly adapted, as that called

Paranion

The mariners pursued their course to Corinth; but he, it is affirmed⁴¹, was taken up by a dolphin and carried to Tænarus. As soon as he got on shore, he went, without changing his dress, to Corinth, and on his arrival told what had befallen him. Periander disbelieved his story; and, keeping him in close custody, endeavoured to find out the crew. As soon as he had met with them, he enquired if they could give him any intelligence of Arion; they replied, that his excursion to Italy had been successful, and that they had left him well at Tarentum. Arion then appeared, dressed as they had seen him leap into the sea: overcome with terror at the circumstance, they confessed their crime. This event is related both by the Corinthians and the Lesbians; and there remains at Tænarus a small figure in brass of a man seated on a dolphin's back, the votive offering of Arion himself.

XXV, When he had put an end to the Milesian war, and after a reign of fifty-seven years, Alyattes died. He was the second of his family who made an offering at Delphi, which he did in consequence

Parion was for social and convivial occasions. See also Homer, Book xi.

Thence the black fury through the Grecian throng
With horror sounds the loud Orthian song.—T.

⁴¹ *It is affirmed.*]—Voltaire abuses Herodotus for telling this story, as considering it true; but surely without reason, as he by no means vouches for its truth.

Gibbon, however, calls the story-telling tone of Herodotus half sceptical and half superstitious.—T.

of his recovery from illness. He presented a large silver goblet, with a saucer of iron⁴², curiously inlaid; it is of surprising workmanship, and as worthy of observation as any of the things preserved at Delphi. The name of the maker was Glaucus, an inhabitant of Chios, and the inventor of this art of inlaying iron.

XXVI. On the death of his father, Croesus succeeded to the throne; he began to reign at the age of thirty-five, and he immediately commenced hostilities with the Ephesians. Whilst he besieged Ephesus⁴³ with an army, the inhabitants made a solemn dedication of their city to Minerva, connecting by some ligature⁴⁴ their walls to the temple of the goddess. This temple is at a distance of about seven stadia from the old town. Soon afterwards he attacked every state, both of the Ionians and the Æolians: the motives which he assigned were various, important in some instances, but, when such could not be found, frivolous pretexts sufficed.

⁴² *Saucer of iron.*]—This basin is mentioned in Pausanias, Book x: where also Glaucus is spoken of as the original inventor of the art. A farther account of Glaucus may be found in Junius de Pictura Veterum.—T.

⁴³ *Whilst he besieged Ephesus.*]—The prince of Ephesus, at this time, was Pindar the nephew of Croesus; the story is told at length by Ælian, Book iii. chap. 26.—T.

⁴⁴ *By some ligature.*]—The object of the ancients, by thus consecrating their towns, was to detain the deities by a kind of force, and prevent their departure. It was believed, that when a city was on the point of being taken, the deities abandoned it.
—Larcher.

XXVII. Not satisfied with compelling the Asiatic Greeks to render him tribute, he determined on building a fleet, to attack those who lived in the islands. From this purpose, although he had made great preparations, he was deterred by the memorable reply of Bias⁴⁵ of Priene, who was at that time in Sardis; or, as others say, of Pittacus⁴⁶ of Mitylene. Of this person the king was enquiring whether there was any intelligence from Greece: "The Islanders, Sir," he replied, "are about to form a body of ten thousand horse, with the intention of attacking you at Sardis." The king, supposing him serious, said, that nothing would be more agreeable to him, than to see the Islanders invading the continent of Lydia with cavalry. The other thus interrupted him: "Your wish to see

⁴⁵ *Bias.*]—Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus, severally give an account of Bias. He was one of the seven wise men of Greece. Some fishermen found a golden tripod, upon which was inscribed, "To the wisest:" it was given to Bias, who sent it to Delphi. When his vanquished countrymen fled before the enemy, each took with him the most valuable part of his property. Bias took nothing: on being asked why, "I always carry," he replied, "my most valuable things with me," meaning his learning and abilities.—*T.*

⁴⁶ *Pittacus.*]—Pittacus of Mitylene was another of the seven wise men. His life is written by Diogenes Laertius. In a war betwixt the Athenians and the people of Mitylene, he challenged the enemy's general to single combat, and with a net which he secretly brought, he entangled and easily conquered his adversary. From this circumstance, the contests of the Retiarii and Mirumillones are said first to have arisen. His most memorable saying was—"Endeavour to prevent calamity; if it happen, bear it with equanimity."—*T.*

the inhabitants of the islands pursue such measures, is certainly reasonable; but do you not imagine, that the circumstance of your building a fleet to attack the Islanders, must give them equal satisfaction? They can wish for no better opportunity of revenging the cause of these Greeks on the continent, reduced by you to servitude, than by meeting the Lydians on the ocean." The wisdom of the remark was acceptable to Cræsus: he not only declined all thoughts of constructing a fleet, but entered into an amicable alliance with the Ionians of the Islands.

XXVIII. He afterwards progressively subdued almost all the nations which are situate on this side the River Halys. The Cilicians and the Lycians alone, were not brought under his yoke; but he totally vanquished the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians.

XXIX. After Cræsus had obtained all these victories, and extended the power of the Lydians, Sardis became the resort of the great and the affluent, as well as of such as were celebrated in Greece for their talents and their wisdom. Among these was Solon⁴⁷: at the request of the Athenians, he had formed

⁴⁷ *Solon.*]—To give a particular account of Solon, would exceed our limits. He was one of the seven wise men of Greece, born at Salamis; and, according to Aulus Gellius, flourished at Athens.

formed a code of laws for their use. He had then engaged in a course of travels, which was to be of ten years continuance; his avowed purpose was of a philosophical nature; but his real object was to avoid the necessity of abrogating the laws he had enacted. The Athenians were of themselves unable to do this, having bound themselves, by the most solemn oaths, to preserve inviolate, for ten years, the institutions of Solon.

XXX. During his absence, Solon had visited Amasis, in Ægypt, and came now to Cræsus⁴⁸, at Sardis. He was received on his arrival with the kindest hospitality, and entertained in the palace of Cræsus. In a few days, the king directed his ser-

Athens, when Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome. He was a wise, but severe legislator, rescuing his countrymen from superstition, ignorance, and vice. His life is given at length by Plutarch.—*T.*

⁴⁸ *Came now to Cræsus.*]—It is doubted by some authors, whether the interview which is here described, ever took place. The sagacious reply of Solon to Cræsus has been introduced in a variety of compositions ancient and modern. See Juvenal, Sat. x. verse 273. See Ausonius also, and Ovid. The dying speech of Julian, as given by Mr. Gibbon, from Libanius, (vol. iv. p. 200, octavo edition) contains many sentiments similar to these of Solon. “I have learned,” says Julian, “from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety.” Upon which, after commending this story of Cleobis and Biton, in Herodotus, our English historian adds, “Yet the Jupiter (in the 16th Book of the Iliad) who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his son, had a very imperfect notion of happiness or glory beyond the grave.” Pausanias relates, that this history is represented in a marble monument at Argos.—*T.*

vaunts to attend Solon to the different repositories of his wealth, and to shew him their splendid and valuable contents. When he had observed them all, Cræsus thus addressed him :—" My Athenian guest, the voice of fame speaks loudly of your wisdom. I have heard much of your travels ; that you have been led, by a truly philosophic spirit, to visit a considerable portion of the globe. I am hence induced to enquire of you, what man, of all you have beheld, has seemed to you most truly happy ?" The expectation of being himself esteemed the happiest of mankind, prompted his enquiry. Solon proved by his reply, his attachment to truth, and abhorrence of flattery. " I think," said he, " O king, that Tellus the Athenian best deserved the appellation of happy." Cræsus was astonished ; " On what," he asked, were the claims of Tellus, to this distinction, founded ?" " Because," answered Solon, " under the protection of a most excellent form of government, Tellus had many virtuous and amiable children ; he saw their offspring, and they all survived him : at the close of a prosperous life, we celebrated his funeral, with every circumstance of honour. In a contest with some of their neighbours, at Eleusis, he flew to the assistance of his countrymen : he contributed to the defeat of the enemy, and met death in the field of glory. The Athenians publicly buried him, in the place where he fell ; and his funeral pomp was magnificently attended."

XXXI. Solon was continuing to make respectful mention of Tellus, when Croesus anxiously interrupted him, and desired to know, whom, next to Tellus, he esteemed most happy; not doubting but the answer would now be favourable to himself. "Cleobis and Bito," replied Solon: "they were Argives by birth, fortunate in their circumstances, and so remarkable for their bodily prowess, that they had both of them been crowned as conquerors in their public games. It is further related of them, that on a certain festival of Juno, their mother was to have been carried to the temple in a chariot drawn by oxen. The beasts were not ready⁴⁹ for the purpose; but the young men instantly took the yokes upon themselves, and drew their mother in the carriage to the temple, through a space of forty-five furlongs. Having performed this in the presence of innumerable spectators, they terminated their lives in a manner which was singularly fortunate. In this event, the deity made it appear, that death is a greater blessing to mankind, than life. The surrounding multitude proclaimed their praise; the men commended their prowess: the women envied their mother; who was delighted with the deed itself, and the glory which attended it. Standing before the shrine, she implored the divinity, in whose honour her sons' exertions had been made, to grant them the greatest blessing man could re-

⁴⁹ *The beasts were not ready.*]—Servius, in his commentaries on Virgil, says, that the want of oxen, on this occasion, was on account of a pestilential malady, which had destroyed all the cattle belonging to Argos.—*Servius ad Virgil. Georg. lib. iii. 522.*

ceive. After her prayers, and when the succeeding sacrifice and festival was ended, the young men retired to rest within the temple; but they rose no more. The Argives have preserved at Delphi the figures of Cleobis and Bito, as of men deserving superior distinction. This, according to Solon's estimate, was happiness in the second degree.

XXXII. Cræsus was still dissatisfied: "Man of Athens," he resumed, "think you so meanly of my prosperity, as to place me even beneath men of private and obscure condition?" "Cræsus," he replied, "you enquire of me my sentiments of human nature; of me, who consider the divine beings as viewing us men with invidious and malignant aspects"⁵⁰. In the space of a protracted life, how many things occur, which we see with reluctance and support with anguish. I will suppose the term of human life to extend to seventy years⁵¹; this

⁵⁰ *With invidious and malignant aspects.*]—This is one of the passages in which the malignity of Herodotus, according to Plutarch, is most conspicuous. Thus, says Plutarch, attributing to Solon what he himself thinks of the gods, he adds malice to blasphemy.—T.

⁵¹ *The term of human life to extend to seventy years, &c.*]—This passage is confessedly one of the most difficult in Herodotus. Larcher has a long and ingenious note upon the subject, which we have omitted; as well from its extreme length, as from its not being intirely consistent with our plan. It is not unworthy observation, that Stobæus, who has given this discourse of Solon, omits altogether the passage in question; and, indeed, Larcher himself is of opinion, that the original text of Herodotus has been here altered.—T.

period, if we except the intercalatory months, will amount to twenty-five thousand two hundred days : to make our computation regular and exact, suppose we add this month to each alternate year, we shall then have thirty-five additional months, or one thousand two hundred and fifty days. The whole seventy years will therefore consist of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty days, yet of this number will every day be productive of some new incident. Thus, Cræsus, does our nature appear a continued series of calamity. I see you as the sovereign of many nations, and possessed of extraordinary affluence and power. But I shall not be able to give a satisfactory answer to the question you propose, till I know that your scene of life shall have closed with tranquillity. The man of affluence is not, in fact, more happy than the possessor of a bare sufficiency ; unless, in addition to his wealth, his end of life be fortunate⁵². We often discern misery in the midst of splendid plenty, whilst real happiness is found in humbler stations. The rich man, who knows not happiness, surpasses but in two things the humbler but more fortunate character, with which we compare him. Yet there are a variety of incidents in which the latter excels the former. The rich man can gratify his passions ; and has little to apprehend from accidental

⁵² *His end of life be fortunate.*]—This sentence of Solon is paraphrased by Sophocles, in his *Œdipus Tyrannus*. It was, indeed, a very favourite sentiment with the Greeks in general. See the *Andromache* of Euripides, verse 99 ; with many other places in his tragedies.—*Lardner*.

injuries. The poor man's condition exempts him entirely from these sources of affliction. He, moreover, possesses strength and health; a stranger to misfortune, he is blessed in his children, and amiable in himself. If at the end of such a life, his death be fortunate, this, O king, is the truly happy man; the object of your curious enquiry. Call no man happy till you know the nature of his death; he is at best but fortunate. All these requisites for happiness it is in no man's power to obtain, for no one region can supply them; it affords perhaps the enjoyment of some, but it is remarkable for the absence of others. That which yields the more numerous sources of gratification, is so far the best: such also is the imperfection of man, excellent in some respects, weak and defective in others. He who possesses the most advantages, and afterwards leaves the world with composure, he alone, O Cræsus, is entitled to our admiration. It is the part of wisdom to look to the event of things; for the Deity often overwhelms with misery, those who have formerly been placed at the summit of felicity."

XXXIII. To these words of Solon, Cræsus refused both his esteem and praise, and he afterwards dismissed the philosopher with indifference⁵³. The sentiment which prompts us not to be elate with temporary

⁵³ *Dismissed the philosopher with indifference.*—At this period, the celebrated Æsop was also at the court of Cræsus, and much respected. He was afflicted with the disgrace of Solon; and, conversing with him as a friend,—“You see, Solon,” said he,

temporary bliss, but to look beyond the present moment, appeared to Cræsus neither wise nor just.

XXXIV. Solon was no sooner departed, than, as if to punish Cræsus for his arrogance, in esteeming himself the happiest of mankind, a wonderful event befel him, which seemed a visitation from heaven. He saw in his sleep a vision, menacing the calamity which afterwards deprived him of his son. Cræsus had two sons; the one marked by natural defect, being dumb; the other, whose name was Atys, was distinguished by his superior accomplishments. The intimation of the vision which Cræsus saw, was, that this Atys should die by the point of an iron spear. Roused and terrified by his dream, he revolved the matter seriously in his mind. His first step was to settle his son in marriage: he then took from him the command of the Lydian troops, whom he before conducted in their warlike expeditions: the spears and darts, with every other kind of hostile weapon, he removed in a heap to the female apartments, that his son might not suffer injury from the fall of them.

“ that we must either not come nigh kings, or we must entertain them with things agreeable to them.” “ That is not the point,” replied Solon; “ you should either say nothing to them, or tell them what is useful.”—“ I must confess,” says Bayle, after relating the above, “ that this caution of Æsop, argues a man well acquainted with the court and great men; but Solon’s answer is the true lesson of divines, who direct the consciences of princes.”—7.

XXXV. Whilst the nuptials of this son employed his attention, an unfortunate homicide arrived at Sardis, a Phrygian by nation, and of the royal family. He presented himself at the palace of Cræsus, from whom he required and received expiation⁵⁴ with the usual ceremonies. The Lydian mode of expiation nearly resembles that in use among the Greeks. When Cræsus had performed what custom

⁵⁴ *Expiation.*]—It was the office of the priests to expiate for crimes committed either from accident or design, and they were therefore called Kathartai, Purifiers: but it should appear from the above, and other similar incidents, that kings anciently exercised the functions of the priesthood.—*T.*

The scholiast of Homer informs us, (See verse 48, last book of the Iliad) that it was customary amongst the ancients, for whoever had committed an involuntary murder, to leave his country, and fly to the house of some powerful individual. There, covering himself, he sat down, and entreated to be purified. No person has given a more full, and at the same time more correct account of the ceremonies of expiation, than Apollonius Rhodius.

Their visits cause her troubled mind distress'd;
On downy seats she plac'd each princely guest.
They round her hearth sat motionless and mute;
With plaintive suppliants such manners suit.
Her folded hands her blushing face conceal;
Deep in the ground he fix'd the murd'rous steel:
Nor dare they once, in equal sorrow drown'd,
Lift their dejected eye-lids from the ground.
Circe beheld their guilt: she saw they fled
From vengeance hanging o'er the murd'rer's head.
The holy rites, approv'd of Jove, she pays:
Jove, thus appeas'd, his hasty vengeance stays.
These rites from guilty stains the culprits clear,
Who lowly suppliant at her cell appear.

tom exacted, he enquired who and whence he was. "From what part," said he, "of Phrygia, do you come? why are you a suppliant to me? what man or woman have you slain?" "O king!" replied the stranger, "I am the son of Gordius, who was the son of Midas. My name is Adrastus⁵⁵; unwillingly I have killed my brother, for which I am banished by my father, and rendered entirely destitute." "You come," replied Cræsus, "of a family whom I esteem

To expiate their crime, in order due,
First to her shrine a sucking-pig she drew,
Whose nipples from its birth distended stood;
Its neck she struck, and bath'd their hands in blood,
Next, with libations meet, and pray'r, she ply'd
Jove, who acquits the suppliant homicide,
Without her door a train of Naiads stand,
Administ'ring whate'er her rites demand.
Within, the flames that round the hearth arise,
Waste, as she prays, the kneaded sacrifice;
That thus the Furies' vengeful wrath might cease,
And, Jove appeas'd, dismiss them both in peace,
Whether they came to expiate the guilt
Of friends' or strangers' blood, by treach'ry spilt.

Farwkes's Apollonius Rhodius.

⁵⁵ *Adrastus.*]—There is a passage in Photius relative to this Adrastus, which two learned men, Palmerius and Larcher, have understood and applied very differently. The passage is this: Photius, in his *Bibliotheca*, giving an account of the historical work of Ptolemæus son of Hephæstion, says thus: "He also relates, that the name of the person who, in the first book of Herodotus, is said to have been killed by Adrastus son of Gordius, was Agathon, and that it was in consequence of some dispute about a quail."

The above, and, as it should seem with greater probability, Palmerius, applies to the brother of Adrastus; Larcher understands it of the son of Cræsus,

With

I esteem my friends. My protection shall, in return, be extended to you. You shall reside in my palace, and be provided with every necessary. You will do well not to suffer your misfortune to distress you too much." Cræsus then received him into his family.

XXXVI. There appeared about this time, near Olympus in Mysia, a wild boar⁵⁶ of an extraordinary size, which, issuing from the mountain, did great injury to the Mysians. They had frequently attacked it; but their attempts to destroy it, so far from proving successful, had been attended with loss to themselves. In the extremity, therefore, of their distress, they sent to Cræsus a message of the following import: "There has appeared among us, O king! a wild boar of a most extraordinary size, injuring us much; but to destroy which all our most strenuous endeavours have proved ineffectual. We entreat you, therefore, to send to us your son, at the head of a chosen band, with a number of dogs,

With respect to the quail, some of our readers may probably thank us for informing them, that the ancients had their quail; as the moderns have their cock-fights.—*T.*

His cocks do win the battle still of mine

When it is all to nought, and his quails ever

Beat mine inhooped at odds.—*Shakespeare.*

⁵⁶ *A wild boar.*]—It should seem, from the accounts of ancient authors, that the ravages of the wild boar were considered as more formidable than those of the other savage animals. The conquest of the Erymanthian boar was one of the fated labours of Hercules; and the story of the Caledonian bear is one of the most beautiful in Ovid.—*T.*

to relieve us from this formidable animal." Cræsus, remembering his dream, answered them thus : " Of my son you must forbear to make mention ; him I cannot send ; he is lately married, and his time and attention sufficiently employed. But a chosen band of Lydians, hunters and dogs, shall attend you ; and I shall charge them to take every possible means of relieving you, as soon as possible, from the attacks of the boar."

XXXVII. This answer of Cræsus satisfied the Mysians⁵⁷ ; but the young man hearing of the matter, and that his father had refused the solicitations of the Mysians for him to accompany them, hastened to the presence of the king, and spoke to him as follows : " It was formerly, Sir, esteemed, in our nation, both excellent and honourable to seek renown in war, or in the hunting of wild beasts ; but you now deprive me of both these opportunities of signalizing myself, without having reason to accuse me either of cowardice or sloth. Whenever I now am seen in public, how mean and contemptible shall I appear ! How will my fellow-citizens, or my new wife, esteem me ? what can be her opinion of the man whom she has married ? Suffer me, then, Sir, either to proceed on this expedition, or condescend to convince me that the motives of your refusal are reasonable and sufficient."

⁵⁷ *Satisfied the Mysians.*]—Valla, Henry Stephens, and Gro-novius, in their versions of this passage, had, *quum non essent contenti*. Wesseling has taken away the negative particle.

XXXVIII. "My son," replied Cræsus, "I do not in any respect think unfavourably of your courage, or your conduct. My behaviour towards you is influenced by a vision, which has lately warned me that your life will be short, and that you must perish from the wound of an iron spear. This has first of all induced me to accelerate your nuptials, and also to refuse your presence in the proposed expedition, wishing, by my caution, to preserve you at least as long as I shall live. I esteem you as my only son; for your brother, on account of his infirmity, is in a manner lost to me."

XXXIX. "Having had such a vision," returned Atys to his father, "I can easily forgive your anxiety concerning me: but as you apparently misconceive the matter, suffer me to explain what seems to have escaped you. The vision, as you affirm, intimated that my death should be occasioned by the point of a spear; but what arms or spear has a wild boar, that you should dread? If, indeed, it had been told you that I was to perish by a tusk, or something of a similar nature, your conduct would have been strictly proper; but, as a spear's point is the object of your alarm, and we are not going to contend with men, I hope for your permission to join this party."

XL. "Son," answered Cræsus, "your reasoning, concerning my dream, has induced me to alter my opinion, and I accede to your wishes."

XLII. The king then sent for Adrastus the Phrygian; whom, on his appearing, he thus addressed: "I do not mean to remind you of your former calamities; but you must have in memory, that I relieved you in your distress, took you into my family, and supplied all your necessities. I have now, therefore, to solicit that return of kindness which my conduct claims. In this proposed hunting excursion, you must be the guardian of my son: preserve him on the way from any secret treachery which may threaten your common security. It is consistent that you should go where bravery may be distinguished, and reputation gained: valour has been the distinction of your family, and with personal vigour has descended to yourself."

XLIII. "At your request, O king!" replied Adrastus, "I shall comply with what I should otherwise have refused. It becomes not a man like myself, oppressed by so great a calamity, to appear among my more fortunate equals: I have never wished, and I have frequently avoided it. My gratitude, in the present instance, impels me to obey your commands. I will therefore engage to accompany and guard your son, and promise, as far as my care can avail, to restore him to you safe."

XLIII. Immediately a band of youths were selected, the dogs of chase prepared, and the train departed. Arrived in the vicinity of Olympus, they sought the beast; and having found his haunt, they surrounded it in a body, and attacked him with
their

their spears. It so happened, that the stranger Adrastus, who had been purified for murder, directing a blow at the boar, missed his aim, and killed the son of Cræsus. Thus he was destroyed by the point of a spear, and the vision proved to be prophetic. A messenger immediately hastened to Sardis, informing Cræsus of the event which occasioned the death of his son.

XLIV. Cræsus, much as he was afflicted with his domestic loss, bore it the less patiently, because it was inflicted by him whom he had himself purified and protected. He broke into violent complaints at his misfortune, and invoked Jupiter, the deity of expiation, in attestation of the injury he had received. He invoked him also as the guardian of hospitality and friendship⁵⁸; of hospitality, because, in receiving a stranger, he had received the murderer of his son; of friendship, because the man whose aid he might have expected, had proved his bitterest enemy,

⁵⁸ *Guardian of hospitality and friendship.*]—Jupiter was adored under different titles, according to the place and circumstance of his different worshippers.—*Larcher.*

The sky was the department of Jupiter: hence he was deemed the god of tempests. The following titles were given him: Pluvius, Pluviosus, Fulgurator, Fulgurum Effector, Descensor, Tonans. Other epithets were given him, relative to the wants of men, for which he was thought to provide. See Bos, *Antiquities of Greece*. The above observation is confined to the Greeks.—The epithets of the Roman Jupiter were almost without number; and there was hardly, as Spence observes, a town, or even hamlet, in Italy, that had not a Jupiter of its own.—*T.*

XLV. Whilst his thoughts were thus occupied, the Lydians appeared with the body of his son⁵⁹; behind followed the homicide. He advanced towards Cræsus, and, with extended hands, implored that he might suffer death upon the body of him whom he had slain. He recited his former calamities; to which was now to be added, that he was the destroyer of the man who had expiated him: he was consequently no longer fit to live. Cræsus listened to him with attention; and, altho' oppressed by his own paternal grief, he could not refuse his compassion to Adrastus; to whom he spake as follows: "My friend, I am sufficiently revenged by your voluntary condemnation of yourself⁶⁰. You are not guilty of this event⁶¹, for you did it without design. The offended deity, who warned me of the evil, has accomplished it." Cræsus, therefore, buried his son with the proper ceremonies: but the unfortunate descendant of Midas, who had killed his brother and his friend, retired at the dead of night

⁵⁹ *Body of his son.*]—This solemn procession of the Lydians, bearing to the presence of the father the dead body of his son, followed mournfully by the person who had killed him, would, it is presumed, afford no mean subject for an historical painting.—*T.*

⁶⁰ *Condemnation of yourself.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that it was the first intention of Cræsus to have burned Adrastus alive; but his voluntary offer to submit to death, deprecated his anger.—*T.*

⁶¹ *You are not guilty of this event.*]—See Homer, *Iliad* 3d, where Priam thus addresses Helen:

No crime of thine our present suff'rings draws;

Not thou, but Heav'n's disposing will, the cause.—*Pope.*

to the place where Atys was buried, and, confessing himself to be the most miserable of mankind, slew himself on the tomb.

XLVI. The two years which succeeded the death of his son, were passed by Croesus in extreme affliction. His grief was at length suspended by the increasing greatness of the Persian empire, as well as by that of Cyrus son of Cambyſes, who had deprived Aſtyages, ſon of Cyaxares, of his dominions. To reſtrain the power of Perſia, before it ſhould become too great and too extenſive, was the object of his ſolicitude. Liſtening to theſe ſuggeſtions, he determined to conſult the different oracles ⁶² of Greece,

⁶² *Oracles.*]—On the ſubject of oracles, it may not be improper, once for all, to inform the Engliſh reader, that the Apollo of Delphi was, to uſe Mr. Bayle's words, the judge without appeal; the greateſt of the heathen gods not preſerving, in relation to oracles, his advantage or ſuperiority. The oracles of Trophoniſ, Dodona, and Hammon, had not ſo much credit as that of Delphi, nor did they equal it either in eſteem or duration. The oracle at Abas was an oracle of Apollo; but, from the little mention that is made of it by ancient writers, it does not appear to have been held in the extremeſt veneration. At Dodona, as we deſcribe it from Montſaucen, there were ſounding kettles; from whence came the proverb of the Dodonean braſs; which, according to Menander, if a man touched but once, would continue ringing the whole day. Others ſpeak of the doves of Dodona, which ſpoke and delivered the oracles: of two doves, according to Statius, one flew to Lybia, to pronounce the oracles of Jupiter; the other ſtaid at Dodona: of which the more rational explanation is, that two females eſtabliſhed religious ceremonies at the ſame time, at Dodona, and in Lybia; for, in the ancient language of the people of Epirus, the ſame word ſignifies

Greece, and also that of Lybia; and for this purpose sent messengers to Delphi, the Phocian Abas, and to Dodona: he sent also to Amphiaræus, Trophonius, and the Milesian Branchidæ. The above-mentioned are the oracles which Cræsus consulted in Greece: he sent also to the Lybian Ammon. His motive in these consultations, was to form an idea of the truth of the oracles respectively, meaning afterwards to obtain from them a decisive opinion concerning the propriety of an expedition against the Persians.

XLVII.

signifies a dove and an old woman. At the same place also was an oak, or, as some say, a beech tree, hallowed by the prejudices of the people, from the remotest antiquity.

The oracle of Trophonius's cave, from its singularity, deserves minuter mention. He, says Pausanias, who desired to consult it, was obliged to undergo various preparatory ceremonies, which continued for several days: he was to purify himself by various methods, to offer sacrifices to many different deities; he was then conducted by night to a neighbouring river, where he was anointed and washed; he afterwards drank of the water of forgetfulness, that his former cares might be buried; and of the water of remembrance, that he might forget nothing of what he was to see. The cave was surrounded by a wall; it resembled an oven, was four cubits wide, and eight deep: it was descended by a ladder; and he who went down, carried with him cakes made of honey; when he was got down, he was made acquainted with futurity. For more particulars concerning this oracle, consult Montfaucon, *Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis*, in which the different descriptions of antiquity, concerning this and other oracles, are collected and methodized. See also Van Dale. Of the above a classical and correct description may also be found in Glover's *Athenaid*.

Amphiaræus was one of the seven warriors who fought against Thebes: he performed on that occasion the functions of a priest, and

XLVII. He took this method of proving the truth of their different communications. He computed with his Lydian messengers, that each should consult the different oracles on the hundredth day of their departure from Sardis, and respectively ask what Crœsus the son of Alyattes was doing: they were to write down, and communicate to Crœsus, the reply of each particular oracle⁶¹. Of the oracular answers in general we have no account remaining; but the Lydians had no sooner entered the temple of Delphi, and proposed their ques-

and was supposed, on that account, to communicate oracles after his death. They who consulted him, were to abstain from wine for three days, and from all nourishment for twenty-four hours. They then sacrificed a ram before his statue, upon the skin of which, spread in the vestibule, they retired themselves to sleep. The deity was supposed to appear to them in a vision, and answer their questions.

The temple of Branchidæ was afterwards, according to Pliny, named the temple of Didymæan Apollo. It was burned by Xerxes, but afterwards rebuilt with such extraordinary magnificence, that, according to Vitruvius, it was one of the four edifices which rendered the names of their architects immortal. Some account may be found of this temple in Chishull's Asiatic Antiquities.—T.

⁶¹ *Reply of each particular oracle.*]—Lucian makes Jupiter complain of the great trouble the deities undergo on account of mankind. “As for Apollo,” says he, “he has undertaken a troublesome office: he is obliged to be at Delphi this minute, at Colophon the next, here at Delos, there at Branchidæ, just as his ministers choose to require him: not to mention the tricks which are played to make trial of his sagacity, when people boil together the flesh of a lamb and a tortoise; so that if he had not had a very acute nose, Crœsus would have gone away, and abused him.”—T.

tions,

tions, than the Pythian ⁶⁴ answered thus, in heroic verse :

I count the sand, I measure out the sea ;
 The silent and the dumb are heard by me ;
 E'en now the odours to my sense that rise,
 A tortoise boiling with a lamb supplies,
 Where brass below and brass above it lies. }

XI.VIII. They wrote down the communication of the Pythian, and returned to Sardis. Of the answers which his other messengers brought with them on their return, Cræsus found none which were satisfactory. But a fervour of gratitude and piety was excited in him, as soon as he was informed of the reply of the Pythian ; and he exclaimed, without reserve, that there was no true oracle but at Delphi, for this alone had explained his employment at the stipulated time. It seems, that on the day appointed for his servants to consult the different oracles, determining to do what it would be equally difficult to discover or explain, he had cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together in a covered vessel of brass.

⁶⁴ *Pythian.*]—The Pythian Apollo, if we may credit the Greeks themselves, was not always upon the best terms with the Muses.—*Lowth on the poetry of the Hebrews.*

Van Dale, in his book de Oraculis, observes, that at Delphi the priestesses had priests, prophets, and poets, to take down and explain and mend her gibberish : which served to justify Apollo from the imputation of making bad verses ; for, if they were defective, the fault was laid upon the anianuensis.—*Jortin.*

XLIX. We have before related what was the answer of the Delphic oracle to Cræsus : what reply the Lydians received from Amphiaræus, after the usual religious ceremonies, I am not able to affirm ; of this it is only asserted, that its answer was satisfactory to Cræsus.

L. Cræsus, after these things, determined to conciliate the divinity of Delphi, by a great and magnificent sacrifice. He offered up three thousand chosen victims⁶⁵ ; he collected a great number of couches decorated with gold and silver⁶⁶, many goblets of gold, and vests of purple ; all these he consumed together upon one immense pile, thinking by these means to render the deity more auspicious to his hopes : he persuaded his subjects also to offer up, in like manner, the proper objects for sacrifice they respectively possessed. As, at the conclusion of the above ceremony, a considerable quantity of

⁶⁵ *Three thousand chosen victims.*]—This astonishing profusion was perfectly consistent with the genius of a superstitious people. Theodoret reproaches the Greeks with their sacrifices of hundreds and of thousands.—*Larcher*.

⁶⁶ *Couches decorated with gold and silver.*]—Prodigal as the munificence of Cræsus appears to have been on this occasion, the funeral pile of the Emperor Severus, as described by Herodian, was neither less splendid nor less costly. He tells us, that there was not a province, city, or grandee throughout the wide circuit of the Roman empire, which did not contribute to decorate this superb edifice. When the whole was completed, after many days of preparatory ceremonies, the next successor to the empire, with a torch, set fire to the pile, and in a little time every thing was consumed.—*T.*

gold had run together, he formed of it a number of tiles. The larger of these were six palms long, the smaller three, but none of them was less than a palm in thickness, and they were one hundred and seventeen in number: four were of the purest gold, weighing each one talent and a half; the rest were of inferior quality, but of the weight of two talents. He constructed also a lion of pure gold ⁶⁷, which weighed ten talents. It was originally placed at the Delphian temple, on the above gold tiles; but when this edifice was burned, it fell from its place, and now stands in the Corinthian treasury: it lost, however, by the fire, three talents and a half of its former weight.

LI. Cræsus, moreover, sent to Delphi two large cisterns, one of gold, and one of silver: that of gold was placed on the right hand in the vestibule of the temple; the silver one on the left. These also were removed when the temple was consumed by fire: the golden goblet weighed eight talents and a half and twelve minæ, and was afterwards placed in the Clazomenian treasury: that of silver is capable of holding six hundred amphoræ; it is placed at the entrance of the temple, and used by the inhabitants of Delphi in their Theophanian festival: they assert it to have been the work of Theodorus of

⁶⁷ *Lion of pure gold.*]—These tiles, this lion, and the statue of the breadmaker of Cræsus, were, all of them, at a subsequent period, seized by the Phocians, to defray the expences of the holy war.—*Larcher.*

Samos⁶⁸; to which opinion, as it is evidently the production of no mean artist, I am inclined to accede. The Corinthian treasury also possesses four silver casks, which were sent by Cræsus, in addition to the above, to Delphi. His munificence did not yet cease: he presented also two basons, one of gold, another of silver. An inscription on that of gold, asserts it to have been the gift of the Lacedæmonians; but it is not true, for this also was the gift of Cræsus. To gratify the Lacedæmonians, a certain Delphian wrote this inscription: although I am able, I do not think proper to disclose his name⁶⁹. The boy through whose hand the water flows, was given by the Lacedæmonians; the basons undoubtedly were not.—Many other smaller presents accompanied these; among which were some silver dishes, and the figure of a woman in gold, three cubits high, who, according to the Delphians, was the person who made the bread for the family of Cræsus⁷⁰.

This

⁶⁸ *Theodorus of Samos.*—He was the first statuary on record. The following mention is made of him by Pliny:—Theodorus, who constructed the labyrinth at Samos, made a cast of himself in brass, which, independent of its being a perfect likeness, was an extraordinary effort of genius. He had in his right hand a file; with three fingers of his left he held a carriage drawn by four horses; the carriage, the horses, and the driver, were so minute, that the whole was covered by the wings of a fly.—*T.*

⁶⁹ *I do not think proper to disclose his name.*—If Ptolemæus may be credited in Photius, his name was Æthus.—*T.*

⁷⁰ *Made the bread for the family of Cræsus.*—Cræsus, says Plutarch, honoured the woman who made his bread, with a statue of gold, from an honest emotion of gratitude. Alyattes, the father of Cræsus, married a second wife, by whom he had other

This prince, besides all that we have enumerated, consecrated at Delphi his wife's necklaces and girdles.

LII. To Amphiaraus, having heard of his valour and misfortunes, he sent a shield of solid gold, with a strong spear made entirely of gold, both shaft and head. These were all, within my memory, preserved at Thebes, in the temple of the Ilianian Apollo.

LIII. The Lydians, who were entrusted with the care of these presents, were directed to enquire whether Cræsus might auspiciously undertake an expedition against the Persians, and whether he should procure any confederate assistance. On their arrival at the destined places, they deposited their presents, and made their enquiries of the oracles precisely in the following terms:—"Cræsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, esteems these the only genuine oracles; in return for the sagacity which has marked your declarations, he sends these proofs of his liberality: he finally desires to know whether he may proceed against the Persians, and whether he shall require the assistance of any allies." The answers of the oracles tended to the same pur-

children. This woman wished to remove Cræsus out of the way, and gave the female baker a dose of poison, charging her to put it into the bread which she made for Cræsus. The woman informed Cræsus of this, and gave the poisoned bread to the queen's children. By these means Cræsus succeeded his father; and acknowledged the fidelity of the woman, by thus making the god himself an evidence of his gratitude.—7.

pose;

pose; both of them assuring Cræsus, that if he prosecuted a war with Persia, he should overthrow a mighty empire⁷¹; and both recommending him to form an alliance with those whom he should find to be the most powerful states of Greece.

LIV. The report of these communications transported Cræsus with excess of joy: elated with the idea of becoming the conqueror of Cyrus, he sent again to Delphi, enquired the number of inhabitants there, and presented each with two golden staters. In acknowledgment for this repeated liberality, the Delphians assigned to Cræsus and the Lydians the privilege of first consulting the oracle, in preference to other nations; a distinguished feat in their temple; together with the immutable right, to such of them as pleased to accept it, of being inrolled among the citizens of Delphi.

L.V. After the above-mentioned marks of his munificence to the Delphians, Cræsus consulted their oracle a third time. His experience of its veracity increased the ardour of his curiosity: he was now anxious to be informed, whether his power

⁷¹ *Overthrow a mighty empire.*]—It appears, that the very words of the oracle must have been here originally: they are preserved by Suidas and others, and are these:

Κροισος Αλυν διαβας μεγαλην αρχην καταλυσει:
which Cicero renders—

Cræsus, Halym penetrans, magnam pervertet opum vim.

De Div. xi. 56.

By crossing Halys, Cræsus will destroy a mighty power.—7.

would ever suffer diminution. The following was the answer of the Pythian :

When o'er the Medes a mule shall sit on high,
O'er pebbly Hermus⁷² then, soft Lydian, fly ;
Fly with all haste ; for safety scorn thy fame,
Nor scruple to deserve a coward's name.

LVI. When the above verses were communicated to Cræsus, he was more delighted than ever ; confident that a mule would never be sovereign of the Medes, and that consequently he could have nothing to fear for himself or his posterity. His first object was to discover which were the most powerful of the Grecian states, and to obtain their alliance. The Lacedæmonians of Doric, and the Athenians of Ionian origin, seemed to claim his distinguished preference. These nations, always eminent, were formerly known by the appellation of Pelasgians and Hellenians⁷³. The former had never changed their place of residence ; the latter often. Under the reign of Deucalion, the Hellenians possessed the region of Phthiotis ; but under Dorus the son of Hellenus, they inhabited the coun-

⁷² *O'er pebbly Hermus, &c.*]—It has been usually translated *Fly to Hermus* : but *πρὸς Ἑρμόν* certainly means *trans Hermum* ; and when said to a Lydian, implies, that he should desert his country.—T.

⁷³ *Pelasgians and Hellenians.*]—On this passage Mr. Bryant remarks, that the whole is exceedingly confused, and that by it one would imagine Herodotus excluded the Athenians from being Pelasgic. See Bryant's *Mythology*, vol. iii. 397.—T.

try called Istiaëotis, which borders upon Ossa and Olympus. They were driven from hence by the Cadmæans, and fixed themselves in Macednum, near mount Pindus: migrating from hence to Dryopis, and afterwards to the Peloponnese, they were known by the name of Dorians.

LVII. What language the Pelasgians used, I cannot positively affirm: some probable conclusion may perhaps be formed, by attending to the dialect of the remnant of the Pelasgians, who now inhabit Crestona⁷⁴ beyond the Tyrrhenians, but who formerly dwelt in the country now called Theffalotis, and were neighbours to those whom we at present name Dorians. Considering these with the above, who founded the cities of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, but once lived near the Athenians, together with the people of other Pelasgian towns who have since changed their names, we are upon the whole justified in our opinion, that they formerly spoke a barbarous language. The Athenians, therefore, who were also of Pelasgian origin, must necessarily, when they came amongst the Hellenians, have learned their language. It is observable, that the inhabitants of Crestona and Placia speak in the same tongue, but are neither of them understood by the people about them. These circumstances

⁷⁴ *Crestona*.]—It appears that Count Caylus has confounded Crestona of Thrace with Crotona of Magna Grecia; but as he has adduced no argument in proof of his opinion, I do not consider it of any importance.—*Larcher*.

induce us to believe, that their language has experienced no change.

LVIII. I am also of opinion, that the Hellenian tongue is not at all altered. When first they separated themselves from the Pelasgians, they were neither numerous nor powerful. They have since progressively increased; having incorporated many nations, Barbarians and others, with their own. The Pelasgians have always avoided this mode of increasing their importance; which may be one reason, probably, why they never have emerged from their original and barbarous condition.

LIX. Of these nations, Cræsus had received information, that Athens suffered much from the oppression of Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates, who at this time possessed there the supreme authority. The father of this man, when he was formerly a private spectator of the Olympic games, beheld a wonderful prodigy: Having sacrificed a victim, the brazen vessels, which were filled with the flesh and with water, boiled up and overflowed without the intervention of fire. Chilon the Lacedæmonian, who was an accidental witness of the fact, advised Hippocrates, first of all, not to marry a woman likely to produce him children: secondly, if he was already married, to repudiate his wife; but if he had then a son, by all means to expose him. He who received this counsel, was by no means disposed to follow it, and had afterwards this son Pisistratus. A tumult happened betwixt those who dwelt

dwelt on the sea-coast, and those who inhabited the plains : of the former, Megacles the son of Alcmeon was leader ; Lycurgus, son of Aristolaides, was at the head of the latter. Pisistratus took this opportunity of accomplishing the views of his ambition. Under pretence of defending those of the mountains, he assembled some factious adherents, and put in practice the following stratagem : He not only wounded himself, but his mules⁷⁵, which he drove into the forum, affecting to have made his escape from the enemy, who had attacked him in a country excursion. He claimed, therefore, the protection of the people, in return for the services which he had performed in his command against the Megarians⁷⁶, by his capture of Nisæa, and by other memorable exploits. The Athenians were deluded by his artifice, and assigned some of their chosen citizens as his guard⁷⁷, armed with clubs, instead of spears.

⁷⁵ *Wounded himself, but his mules.*]—Ulysses, Zopyrus, and others, availed themselves of similar artifices for the advantage of their country ; but Pisistratus practised his, to depress and enslave his fellow-citizens. This occasioned Solon to say to him, “ Son of Hippocrates, you ill apply the stratagem of Homer’s Ulysses : he wounded his body, to delude the public enemies ; you wound your’s, to beguile your countrymen.”—*Larcher*.

⁷⁶ *Command against the Megarians.*]—The particulars of this affair are related by Plutarch, in his Life of Solon.—*T*.

⁷⁷ *As his guard.*]—The people being assembled to deliberate on the ambuscade which Pisistratus pretended was concerted against him, assigned him fifty guards for the security of his person. Ariston proposed the decree ; but when it was once passed, the people acquiesced in his taking just as many guards as he thought proper. Solon, in a letter to Epemenides, preserved

spears. These seconded the purpose of Pisistratus, and seized the citadel. He thus obtained the supreme power; but he neither changed the magistrates nor altered the laws: he suffered every thing to be conducted in its ordinary course; and his government was alike honourable to himself⁷⁸ and useful to the city. The factions of Megacles and Lycurgus afterwards united, and expelled him from Athens.

LX. By these means Pisistratus became for the first time master of Athens, and obtained an authority which was far from being secure.

The parties, however, which effected his removal, presently disagreed. Megacles, being hard pressed by his opponent, sent proposals to Pisistratus, offering him the supreme power, on condition of his marrying his daughter. Pisistratus acceded to the terms; and a method was concerted to accomplish his return, which to me seems exceedingly preposterous. The Grecians, from the remotest times, were distinguished above the Barba-

served in Diogenes Laertius, but which seems to be spurious, says, that Pisistratus required four hundred guards; which, notwithstanding Solon's remonstrances, were granted him. Polyænus says they assigned him three hundred.—*Larcher*.

⁷⁸ *Honourable to himself.*]—Pisistratus, says Plutarch, was not only observant of the laws of Solon himself, but obliged his adherents to be so too. Whilst in the enjoyment of the supreme authority, he was summoned before the Areopagus, to answer for the crime of murder. He appeared with modesty to plead his cause. His accuser did not think proper to appear. The same fact is related by Aristotle.—*Larcher*.

rians by their acuteness; and the Athenians, upon whom this trick was played, were of all the Greeks the most eminent for their sagacity. There was a Pæanian woman, whose name was Phya⁷⁹; she wanted but three digits of being four cubits high, and was, moreover, uncommonly beautiful. She was dressed in a suit of armour, placed in a chariot, and decorated with the greatest imaginable splendour. She was conducted towards the city; heralds were sent before, who, as soon as they arrived within the walls of Athens, were instructed to exclaim aloud,—“Athenians, receive Pisistratus again, and with good-will; he is the favourite of Minerva, and the goddess herself comes to conduct him to her citadel.” The rumour soon spread amongst the multitude, that Minerva was bringing back Pisistratus. Those in the city being told that this woman was their goddess, prostrated themselves before her, and admitted Pisistratus⁸⁰.

LXI. By these means the son of Hippocrates recovered his authority, and fulfilled the terms of his agreement with Megacles, by marrying his

⁷⁹ *Phya.*]—There is here great appearance of fiction. *Phya* means air, or personal courage.

Εἶδος τε, μέγεθος τε, φύσιν τ' ἀγχίστα εὐκλώς.

Il. 2d. T.

⁸⁰ *Admitted Pisistratus.*]—The ambitious in all ages have made religion an instrument of their designs, and the people, naturally superstitious and weak, have always been the dupes.
—*Larcher.*

daughter.

daughter⁸¹. But, as he had already sons grown up, and as the Alcmaeonides were stigmatized by some imputed contamination⁸², to avoid having children by this marriage, he refused all natural communication with his wife. This incident, which the woman for a certain time concealed, she afterwards revealed to her mother, in consequence, perhaps, of her enquiries. The father was soon informed of it, who, exasperated by the affront, forgot his ancient resentments, and entered into a league with those whom he had formerly opposed. Pisistratus, seeing the danger which menaced him, hastily left the country, and, retiring to Eretria⁸³, there deliberated with his sons concerning their future conduct. The sentiments of Hippias, which were for attempting the recovery of their dignity, prevailed. They met with no difficulty in procuring assistance from the neighbouring states, amongst whom a prejudice in their favour generally prevailed. Many cities assisted them largely with money; but the Thebans were particularly liberal. Not to protract the narration, every preparation was

⁸¹ *By marrying his daughter.*]—Her name was Cæsyra, as appears from the Scholiast to the *Nubes* of Aristophanes.—*Palmerius*.

⁸² *Imputed contamination.*]—Megacles, who was Archon in the time of the conspiracy of Cylon, put the conspirators to death, at the foot of the altars where they had taken refuge. All those who had any concern in the perpetration of murder were considered as detestable.—*Larcher*.

⁸³ *Retiring to Eretria.*]—There were two places of this name, one in Thessaly, the other in Eubœa: Pisistratus retired to the latter.

made to facilitate their return. A band of Argive mercenaries came from the Peloponnese; and an inhabitant of Naxos, named Lygdamis, gave new alacrity to their proceedings, by his unsolicited assistance both with money and with troops.

LXII. After an absence of eleven years, they advanced to Attica from Eretria, and seized on Marathon, in the vicinity of which they encamped. They were soon visited by throngs of factious citizens⁸⁴ from Athens, and by all those who preferred tyranny to freedom. Their number was thus soon and considerably increased. Whilst Pisistratus was providing himself with money, and even when he was stationed at Marathon, the Athenians of the city appeared to be under no alarm: but when they heard that he had left his post, and was advancing towards them, they began to assemble their forces, and to think of obstructing his return. Pisistratus

⁸⁴ *Factious citizens.*]—The whole account given by Herodotus, of the conduct of Pisistratus and his party, bears no small resemblance to many circumstances of the Catilinarian conspirators, as described by Cicero and others. Two or three instances are nevertheless recorded, of the moderation of Pisistratus, which well deserve our praise. His daughter assisted at some religious festival: a young man, who violently loved her, embraced her publicly, and afterwards endeavoured to carry her off. His friends excited him to vengeance. “If,” says he in reply, “we hate those who love us, what shall we do to those who hate us?”—Some young men, in a drunken frolic, insulted his wife. The next day they came in tears, to solicit forgiveness. “You must have been mistaken,” said Pisistratus; “my wife did not go abroad yesterday.”—T.

continued

continued to approach, with his men in one collected body : he halted at the temple of the Palladian Minerva, opposite to which he fixed his camp. Whilst he remained in this situation, Amphylitus, a priest of Acarnania, approached him, and, as if by divine inspiration⁸⁵, thus addressed him in heroic verse :

The cast is made ; the net secures the way ;
And night's pale gleams will bring the scaly prey.

LXIII. Pisistratus considered the declaration as prophetic, and prepared his troops accordingly. The Athenians of the city were then engaged at their dinner ; after which, they retired to the amusement of dice, or to sleep⁸⁶. The party of Pisistratus, then making the attack, soon compelled them to fly. Pisistratus, in the course of the pursuit, put in execution the following sagacious stratagem,
to

⁸⁵ *Divine inspiration.*]—Upon this passage Mr. Bryant has some observations, much too abstruse for our purpose, but well worthy the consideration of the curious. See his *Mythology*, vol. i. page 259.—T.

⁸⁶ *To sleep.*]—In all the warmer climates of the globe, the custom of sleeping after dinner is invariably preserved. It appears from modern travellers, that many of the present inhabitants of Athens have their houses flat-roofed, and decorated with arbours, in which they sleep at noon. We are informed, as well by Herodotus, as by Demosthenes, Theophrastus, and Xenophon, that, anciently, the Athenians in general, as well citizens as soldiers, took only two repasts in the day. The meaner sort were satisfied with one, which some took at noon, others at sunset.

to continue their confusion, and prevent their rallying: he placed his sons on horseback, and directed them to overtake the fugitives; they were commissioned to bid them all remove their apprehensions, and pursue their accustomed employments.

LXIV. The Athenians took him at his word, and Pisistratus thus became a third time master of Athens⁸⁷. He by no means neglected to secure his authority, by retaining many confederate troops, and providing pecuniary resources, partly from Attica itself, and partly from the river Strymon⁸⁸. The children of those citizens, who, instead of retreating from his arms, had opposed his progress, he

The following passage from Horace cannot fail of being interesting: it not only proves the intimacy which prevailed betwixt Mæcenas, Virgil, and Horace, but it satisfies us, that at a much later period, and in the most refined state of the Roman empire, the mode of spending the time after dinner was similar to that here mentioned:

Lusum it Mæcenas, dormitum ego Virgiliusque.

Sermon. lib. i. 5.

⁸⁷ *Third time master of Athens.*]—Pisistratus, tyrant as he was, loved letters, and favoured those who cultivated them. He it was who first collected Homer's works, and presented the public with the Iliad and Odyssey in their present form.—*Bellanger*.

Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, subsequent to the battle of Pharsalia, thus expresses himself: "We are not yet certain whether we shall groan under a Phalaris, or enjoy ourselves under a Pisistratus."—*T.*

⁸⁸ *River Strymon.*]—This river is very celebrated in classical story: there are few of the ancient writers who have not made mention of it; at the present day it is called, at that part where it empties itself into the Ægean, Golfo di Contessa. Upon the

he took as hostages, and sent to the island of Naxos ; which place he had before subdued, and given up to Lygdamis. In compliance also with an oracular injunction, he purified Delos ⁸⁹ : all the dead bodies, which lay within a certain distance of the temple, were, by his orders, dug up, and removed to another part of the island. By the death of some of the Athenians in battle, and by the flight of others with the Alcæonides, he remained in undisturbed possession of the supreme authority.

LXV. Such was the intelligence which Cræsus received concerning the situation of Athens. With respect to the Lacedæmonians, after suffering many important defeats, they had finally vanquished the Tegeans. Whilst Sparta was under the government of Leon and Hegesicles, the Lacedæmonians, successful in other contests, had been inferior to the Tegeans alone : of all the Grecian states, they had formerly the worst laws ; bad with regard to their own internal government, and to strangers intolerable. They obtained good laws, by means of the

the banks of this river, Virgil beautifully describes Orpheus to have lamented his Eurydice. Amongst the other rivers memorable in antiquity for their production of gold, were the Pactolus, Hermus, Ganges, Tagus, Iber, Indus, and Arimafpus.—*T.*

⁸⁹ *Purified Delos.*]—Montfaucon, but without telling us his authority, says, that the whole island of Delos was consecrated by the birth of Apollo and Diana, and that it was not allowable to bury a dead body in any part of it. It should seem from the passage before us, that this must be understood with some restriction.—*T.*

following

following circumstance: Lycurgus⁹⁰, a man of distinguished character at Sparta, happened to visit the Delphic oracle. As soon as he had entered the vestibule, the Pythian exclaimed aloud,

Thou com'st, Lycurgus, to this honour'd shrine,
Favour'd by Jove, and ev'ry pow'r divine.

Or god or mortal! how shall I decide?

Doubtless to heav'n most dear and most allied.

It is farther asserted by some, that the priestess dictated to him those institutes which are now observed at Sparta: but the Lacedæmonians themselves affirm, that Lycurgus brought them from Crete while he was guardian to his nephew Leobotas king of Sparta. In consequence of this trust, having obtained the direction of the legislature, he made a total change in the constitution, and took effectual care to secure a strict observance⁹¹ of whatever he introduced: he new-modelled the military code, appointing the Enomotæ, the Triacades, and

⁹⁰ *Lycurgus.*]—For an account of the life and character of Lycurgus, we refer the reader, once for all, to Plutarch. His institutes are admirably collected and described by the Abbé Barthelemy, in his *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, vol. iv. 110.—*T.*

⁹¹ *Strict observance.*]—There were some Lacedæmonians who, deeming the laws of Lycurgus too severe, chose rather to leave their country than submit to them. These passed over to the Sabines in Italy; and when these people were incorporated with the Romans, communicated to them a portion of their Lacedæmonian manners.—*Larçier.*

the Syssitia; he instituted also the Ephori⁹² and the senate.

LXVI. The manners of the people became thus more polished and improved: they, after his death, revered Lycurgus as a divinity, and erected a sacred edifice

⁹² *Ephori (inspectors).*—Of the Enomotia; and Triacades we have been able to find no account sufficiently perspicuous to satisfy ourselves, or inform the reader: that of Cragius is perhaps the best. Larcher has a long and elaborate note upon the subject, in which he says, that if any person be able to remove the obscurity in which the subject is involved, it must be the Abbé Bartheleny, to whose study and deliberation it must of necessity occur in his intended work upon Greece. That work has since appeared; but we find in it little mention of the Enomotia, &c.

The following account of the Ephori, as collected and compressed from the ancient Greek writers, we give from the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis:

“ Aristotle, Plutarch, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, and Dion Chrysostom, were of opinion, that the Ephori were first instituted by Theopompus, who reigned almost a hundred years after the time of Lycurgus. Herodotus, Plato, and another ancient author named Satyrus, ascribe the institution to Lycurgus. The Ephori were an intermediate body betwixt the kings and the senate. They were called Ephori, or inspectors, because their attention was extended to every part of the machine of government. They were five in number; and, to prevent any abuse of their authority, they were chosen annually by the people, the defenders of whose rights they were. They superintended the education of the youth. Every day they appeared in public, to decide causes, to arbitrate differences, and to prevent the introduction of any thing which might tend to the corruption of youth. They could oblige magistrates to render an account of their administration; they might even suspend them from their functions, and drag them to prison. The kings themselves were compelled to obey the third summons to appear before the
Ephori

edifice to his memory⁹³. From this period, having a good and populous territory, they rapidly rose to prosperity and power. Dissatisfied with the languor and inactivity of peace, and conceiving themselves in all respects superior to the Tegeans, they sent to consult the oracle concerning the entire conquest of Arcadia. The Pythian thus answered them :

Ask ye Arcadia? 'tis a bold demand;
 A rough and hardy race defend the land.
 Repuls'd by them, one only boon you gain,
 With frequent foot to dance on Tegea's plain,
 And o'er her fields the meas'ring-cord to strain. }

Ephori and answer for any imputed fault. The whole executive power was vested in their hands: they received foreign ambassadors, levied troops, and gave the general his orders, whom they could retal at pleasure. So many privileges secured them a veneration, which they justified from the rewards they bestowed on merit, by their attachment to ancient maxims, and by the firmness with which, on several occasions, they broke the force of conspiracies, which menaced the tranquillity of the state."—T.

⁹³ *To his memory.*]—The Lacedæmonians having bound themselves by an oath not to abrogate any of the laws of Lycurgus before his return to Sparta, the legislator went to consult the oracle at Sparta. He was told by the Pythian, that Sparta would be happy, as long as his laws were observed. Upon this he resolved to return no more, that he might thus be secure of the observance of these institutions, to which they were so solemnly bound: he went to Crisa, and there slew himself. The Lacedæmonians, hearing of this, in testimony of his former virtue, as well as of that which he discovered in his death, erected to him a temple, with an altar, at which they annually offered sacrifice to his honour, as to a hero. The above fact is mentioned both by Pausanias and Plutarch.—*Larcher.*

No sooner had the Lacedæmonians received this reply, than, leaving the other parts of Arcadia unmolested, they proceeded to attack the Tegeans, carrying a quantity of fetters with them. They relied upon the evasive declaration of the oracle, and imagined that they should infallibly reduce the Tegeans to servitude. They engaged them, and were defeated⁹⁴: as many as were taken captive, were loaded with the fetters which themselves had brought, and thus employed in laborious service in the fields of the Tegeans. These chains were preserved, even in my remembrance, in Tegea, hung round the temple of the Alean Minerva⁹⁵.

LXVII. In the origin of their contests with the Tegeans, they were uniformly unsuccessful; but in the time of Croesus, when Anaxandrides and Ariston

⁹⁴ *Were defeated.*]—This incident happened during the reign of Charillus. The women of Tegea took up arms, and, placing themselves in ambuscade at the foot of mount Phylæstris, they rushed upon the Lacedæmonians, who were already engaged with the Tegeans, and put them to flight. The above is from Pausanias. *Larcher.*—Polyænus relates the same fact.

⁹⁵ *Temple of the Alean Minerva.*]—This custom of suspending in sacred buildings the spoils taken from the enemy, commencing in the most remote and barbarous ages, has been continued to the present period. See Samuel, book ii. chap. 8. “And David took the shields of gold which were on the servants of Haddad, and brought them to Jerusalem; which king David did dedicate unto the Lord, with the silver and gold of all nations which he subdued.”

These fetters taken from the Lacedæmonians were seen also in this temple in the time of Pausanias.—It is usual also with the moderns, to suspend in churches the colours taken from the enemy.—T.

had

had the government of Sparta, they experienced a favourable change of fortune; which is thus to be explained:

Having repeatedly been defeated by the Tegeans, they sent to consult the Delphic oracle, what particular deity they had to appease, to become victorious over their adversaries. The Pythian assured them of success, if they brought back the body of Orestes son of Agamemnon. Unable to discover his tomb, they sent a second time, to enquire concerning the place of his interment. The following was the oracular communication:

A plain ⁹⁶ within th' Arcadian land I know,
Where double winds with forc'd exertion blow,
Where form to form with mutual strength replies,
And ill by other ills supported lies:
That earth contains the great Atrides' son;
Take him, and conquer: Tegea then is won.

After the above, the search for the body was without intermission continued: it was at length discovered by Lichas ⁹⁷, one of those Spartans distinguished by the name of Agathoërgoi; which title was usually conferred, after a long period of service

⁹⁶ *A plain, &c.*]—*Επιταγῆτος*; is singularly used here: it means, I presume, "then you may have to defend Tegea, having by victory become proprietor of it."—*T.*

⁹⁷ *Discovered by Lichas.*]—In honour of this Lichas the Lacedæmonians struck a medal: on one side was a head of Hercules; on the reverse, a head with a long beard, and a singular ornament.—*Larcher.*

among the cavalry. Of these citizens, five were every year permitted to retire; but were expected, during the first year of their discharge, to visit different countries, on the business of the public.

LXVIII. Lichas, when in this situation, made the wished-for discovery, partly by good fortune, and partly by his own sagacity. They had at this time a commercial intercourse with the Tegeans; and Lichas happening to visit a smith at his forge, observed with particular curiosity the process of working the iron. The man took notice of his attention, and desisted from his labour. "Stranger of Sparta," said he, "you seem to admire the art which you contemplate; but how much more would your wonder be excited, if you knew all that I am able to communicate! Near this place, as I was sinking a well, I found a coffin seven cubits long: I never believed that men were formerly of larger dimensions than at present⁹⁸; but when I opened

⁹⁸ *Larger dimensions than at present.*]—Upon this subject of the degeneracy of the human race, whoever wishes to see what the greatest ingenuity can urge, will receive no small entertainment from the works of Lord Monboddo. If in the time of Herodotus this seemed matter of complaint, what conclusions must an advocate of this theory draw concerning the stature of his brethren in the progress of an equal number of succeeding centuries!—T.

In the perusal of history, traditions are to be found, of a pretended race of giants in every country of the globe, and even among the savages of Canada. Bones of an extraordinary size, found in different regions, have obtained such opinions credit. Some of these, in the time of Augustus, were exhibited at Caprea, formerly the resort of many savage and monstrous animals: these,

it⁹⁹, I discovered a body equal in length to the coffin; I correctly measured it, and placed it where I found it." Lichas, after hearing his relation, was induced to believe, that this might be the body of Orestes, concerning which the oracle had spoken. He was farther persuaded, when he recollected, that the bellows of the smith might intimate the two winds; the anvil and the hammer might express one form opposing another; the iron, also, which was beaten, might signify ill succeeding ill, rightly conceiving that the use of iron operated to the injury of mankind. With these ideas in his mind, he returned to Sparta, and related the matter to his countrymen; who immediately, under pretence of some imputed crime, sent him into banishment. He returned to Tegea, told his misfortune to the smith, and hired of him the ground, which he at first refused positively to part with. He resided there for a certain space of time, when, digging up the body, he collected the bones, and returned with

these, it was pretended, were the bones of those giants who had fought against the gods. In 1613, they shewed through Europe, the bones of the giant Teutobachus: unluckily, a naturalist proved them to be the bones of an elephant.—*Larcher*.

⁹⁹. *Opened it.*]—It may be asked how Orestes, who neither reigned nor resided at Tegea, could possibly be buried there? —Strabo, in general terms, informs us, that he died in Arcadia, whilst conducting an Æolian colony. Stephen of Byzantium is more precise: he says, that Orestes, being bitten by a viper, died at a place called Orestium. His body was doubtless carried to Tegeum, which is at no great distance, as he was descended, by his grandmother Ærope, from Tegeates the founder of Tegea.—*Larcher*.

them to Sparta. The Lacedæmonians had previously obtained possession of a great part of the Peloponnese; and, after the above-mentioned event, their contests with the Tegeans were attended with uninterrupted success.

LXIX. Cræsus was duly informed of all these circumstances: he accordingly sent messengers to Sparta with presents, at the same time directing them to form an offensive alliance with the people. They delivered their message in these terms: "Cræsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, thus addresses himself to Sparta:—I am directed by the oracles to form a Grecian alliance; and, as I know you to be pre-eminent above all the states of Greece, I, without collusion of any kind, desire to become your friend and ally." The Lacedæmonians having heard of the oracular declaration to Cræsus, were rejoiced at his distinction in their favour, and instantly acceded to his proposed terms of confederacy. It is to be observed, that Cræsus had formerly rendered kindness to the Lacedæmonians: they had sent to Sardis to purchase some gold for the purpose of erecting the statue of Apollo, which is still to be seen at mount Thornax; Cræsus presented them with all they wanted.

LXX. Influenced by this consideration, as well as by his decided partiality to them, they entered into all his views: they declared themselves ready to give such assistance as he wanted; and, farther to mark their attachment, they prepared, as a present

sent for the king, a brazen vessel, capable of containing three hundred amphoræ, and ornamented round the brim with the figures of various animals. This, however, never reached Sardis; the occasion of which is thus differently explained. The Lacedæmonians affirm, that their vessel was intercepted near Samos, on its way to Sardis, by the Samians, who had fitted out some ships of war for this particular purpose. The Samians, on the contrary, assert, that the Lacedæmonians employed on this business did not arrive in time; but, hearing that Sardis was lost, and Cræsus in captivity, they disposed of their charge to some private individuals of Samos, who presented it to the temple of Juno. They who acted this part, might perhaps, on their return to Sparta, declare, that the vessel had been violently taken from them by the Samians.

LXXI. Cræsus, in the mean time, deluded by the words of the oracle, prepared to lead his forces into Cappadocia, in full expectation of becoming conqueror of Cyrus, and of Persia. Whilst he was employed in providing for this expedition, a certain Lydian named Sardanis, who had always, among his countrymen, the reputation of wisdom, and became still more memorable from this occasion, thus addressed Cræsus: "You meditate, O king! an attack upon men who are clothed with the skins of animals¹⁰⁰; who, inhabiting a country but little cultivated,

¹⁰⁰ *Skins of animals.*]—Dresses made of the skins of animals are of the highest antiquity. Not to mention those of Adam and Eve,

cultivated, live on what they can procure, not on what they wish: strangers to the taste of wine, they drink water only¹⁰¹; even figs are a delicacy with which they are unacquainted, and all our luxuries are entirely unknown to them. If you conquer them, what can you take from them, who have nothing? but if you shall be defeated, it becomes you to think of what you on your part will be deprived. When they shall once have tasted our delicacies, we shall never again be able to get rid of them. I indeed am thankful to the gods for not inspiring the Persians with the wish of invading Lydia." Cræsus disregarded this admonition: it is nevertheless certain, that the Persians, before their conquest of Lydia, were strangers to every species of luxury.

LXXII. The Cappadocians are by the Greeks called Syrians. Before the empire of Persia existed, they were under the dominion of the Medes, though now in subjection to Cyrus. The different empires of the Lydians and the Medes were divided by the

Eux, the Scythians and other northern nations used them as a defence against the cold. Even the inhabitants of warmer climates wore them before they became civilized.—*Bellanger*.

¹⁰¹ *Drink water only.*]—Xenophon, as well as Herodotus, informs us, that the Persians drank only water: nevertheless our historian, in another place, says, that the Persians were addicted to wine. In this there is no contradiction: when these Persians were poor, a little satisfied them: rendered rich by the conquests of Cyrus and his successors, luxury, and all its concomitant vices, was introduced amongst them.—*Larcher*.

river Halys ¹⁰²; which rising in a mountain of Armenia, passes through Cilicia, leaving in its progress the Matienians on its right, and Phrygia on its left: then stretching towards the north, it separates the Cappadocian Syrians from Paphlagonia, which is situate on the left of the stream. Thus the river Halys separates all the lower parts of Asia, from the sea which flows opposite to Cyprus, as far as the Euxine, a space over which an active man ¹⁰³ could not travel in less than five days ¹⁰⁴.

LXXIII. Cræsus continued to advance towards Cappadocia; he was desirous of adding the country to his dominions, but he was principally influenced by his confidence in the oracle, and his zeal for revenging on Cyrus the cause of Astyages. Astyages was son of Cyaxares king of the Medes, and brother-in-law to Cræsus; he was now vanquished, and de-

¹⁰² *Halys.*]—The stream of this river was colder than any in Ionia, and celebrated for that quality by the elegiac poets.—*Candler's Travels in Asia Minor.*

¹⁰³ *Active man, &c.*]—The Greek is *εὐζυγὸς ἀνδρὶ*, literally, in English, a well-girt man. The expression is imitated by Horace:

Hoc iter ignavi divisimus—altius ac nos
Præcinctis unum.——*T.*

¹⁰⁴ *Five days.*]—Scymnus of Chios, having remarked that the Euxine is a seven days journey distant from Cilicia, adduces the present passage as a proof of our historian's ignorance. Scymnus probably estimated the day's journey at 150 furlongs, which was sometimes done; whilst Herodotus makes it 200. This makes, between their two accounts, a difference of 50 furlongs; a difference too small to put any one out of temper with our historian.—*Larcher.*

tained in captivity by Cyrus, son of Cambyfes. The affinity betwixt Cræfus and Aftyages was of this nature:—Some tumult having arifen among the Scythian Nomades, a number of them retired clandestinely into the territories of the Medes, where Cyaxares son of Phraortes, and grandson of Deioces, was at that time king. He received the fugitives under his protection, and, after shewing them many marks of his favour, he entrusted some boys to their care, to learn their language, and the Scythian management of the bow¹⁰⁵. These Scythians employed much of their time in hunting, in which they were generally, though not alike successful. Cyaxares, it seems, was of an irritable disposition, and meeting them one day, when they returned without any game, he treated them with much insolence and asperity. They conceived themselves injured, and determined not to acquiesce in the affront. After some consultation among themselves, they determined to kill one of the children entrusted to their care, to dress him as they were accustomed to do their game, and to serve him up to Cyaxares. Having done this, they resolved to fly to Sardis, where Alyattes, son of Sadyattes, was king. They executed their purpose. Cyaxares

¹⁰⁵ *Scythian management of the bow.*]—The Scythians had the reputation of being excellent archers. The scholiast of Theocritus informs us, that, according to Herodotus and Callimachus, Hercules learned the art of the bow from the Scythian Teutarus. Theocritus himself says, that Hercules learned this art from Eurytus, one of the Argonauts. The Athenians had Scythians amongst their troops, as had probably the other Greeks.—*Larcher.*

and his guests partook of the human flesh, and the Scythians immediately sought the protection of Alyattes.

LXXIV. Cyaxares demanded their persons; on refusal of which, a war commenced betwixt the Lydians and the Medes, which continued five years. It was attended with various success; and it is remarkable, that one of their engagements took place in the night¹⁰⁶. In the sixth year, when neither side could reasonably claim superiority, in the midst of an engagement the day was suddenly involved in darkness. This phenomenon, and the particular period at which it was to happen, had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales¹⁰⁷ the Milesian.

¹⁰⁶ *Took place in the night.*]—Upon this passage I am favoured, by an ingenious friend, with the following note.

“ I am inclined to think that one event only is spoken of here by Herodotus; and that by *νυκτομαχίαν τινα* he meant to express a kind of *night-engagement*, of which the subsequent sentence contains the particulars. Otherwise it seems strange, that he should mention the *νυκτομαχία* as a remarkable occurrence, and not give any particulars concerning it. The objections to this interpretation are, the connecting the sentence by *δε* instead of *γάρ*, and the following account, that they ceased to fight after the eclipse came on; but neither of these are insuperable. The interpretation of *τινα* is perfectly fair, and not unusual. Astronomers have affirmed, from calculation, that this eclipse must have happened in the seventh year of Astyages, not in the reign of Cyaxares.”

¹⁰⁷ *Foretold to the Ionians by Thales.*]—Of Thales, the life is given by Diogenes Laertius; many particulars also concerning him are to be found in Plutarch, Pliny, Lactantius, Apuleius, and Cicero. He was the first of the seven wise men, the first also
who

lian. Awed by the solemnity of the event, the parties desisted from the engagement, and it farther influenced them both to listen to certain propositions for peace, which were made by Syennesis of Cilicia, and Labynetus¹⁰⁸ of Babylon. To strengthen the treaty, these persons also recommended a matrimonial connection. They advised that Alyattes should give Aryenis his daughter to Astyages son of Cyaxares, from the just conviction that no political engagements are durable unless strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds¹⁰⁹. The ceremony of confirming alliances is the same in this nation as in Greece, with this addition, that both

who distinguished himself by his knowledge of astrology; add to which, he was the first who predicted an eclipse. His most memorable saying was, that he was thankful to the gods for three things—That he was born a man, and not a beast; that he was born a man, and not a woman; that he was born a Greek, and not a Barbarian. The darkness in the *Iliad*, which surprizes the Greeks and Trojans in the midst of a severe battle, though represented as preternatural, and the immediate interposition of Jupiter himself, has not the effect of suspending the battle. This might, perhaps, afford matter of discussion, did not the description of the darkness, and the subsequent prayer of Ajax, from their beauty and sublimity, exclude all criticism.—*T.*

¹⁰⁸ *Labynetus.*]—The same, says Prideaux, with the Nebuchadnezzar of scripture. He was called, continues the same author, by Berosus, Nabonnedus; by Megasthenes, Nabonnidichus; by Josephus, Naboardelus.—*T.*

¹⁰⁹ *Strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds.*]—It is not, perhaps, much to the credit of modern refinement, that political intermarriages, betwixt those of royal blood, seem anciently to have been considered as more solemn in themselves, and to have operated more effectually to the security of the public peace, than at present.—*T.*

parties wound themselves in the arm and mutually lick the blood ¹¹⁰.

LXXV. Astyages, therefore, was the grandfather of Cyrus, though at this time vanquished by him, and his captive, the particulars of which event I shall hereafter relate. This was what excited the original enmity of Croesus, and prompted him to enquire of the oracle whether he should make war upon Persia. The delusive reply which was given him, he interpreted in a manner the most favorable to himself, and proceeded in his concerted expedition. When he arrived at the river Halys, he passed over his forces on bridges, which he there found constructed; although the Greeks in general assert, that this service was rendered him by Thales the Milesian. Whilst Croesus was hesitating over what part of the river he should attempt a passage, as there was no bridge then constructed, Thales divided it into two branches. He sunk a deep trench ¹¹¹, which commencing above the camp, from

¹¹⁰ *Lick the blood.*]—The Scythians, according to Herodotus, have a custom nearly similar. “If the Sianese wish to vow an eternal friendship, they make an incision in some part of the body, till the blood appears, which they afterwards reciprocally drink. In this manner the ancient Scythians and Babylonians ratified alliances; and almost all the modern nations of the East observe the same custom.”—*Civil and Natural History of Siam.*

¹¹¹ *Sunk a deep trench.*]—Anciently, when they wanted to construct a bridge, they began by adding another channel to the river, to turn off the waters: when the ancient bed was dry, or at least when there was but little water left, the bridge was erected. Thus it was much less troublesome to Croesus to turn the river than to construct a bridge.—*Larcher.*

the

the river, was in the form of a semicircle conducted round it till it again met the ancient bed. It thus became easily fordable on either side. There are some who say, that the old channel was intirely dried up, to which opinion I can by no means assent, for then their return would have been equally difficult.

LXXVI. Crœsus having passed over with his army, came into that part of Cappadocia which is called Pteria, the best situated in point of strength of all that district, and near the city of Sinope, on the Euxine. He here fixed his station, and, after wasting the Syrian lands, besieged and took the Pterians principal city. He destroyed also the neighbouring towns, and almost exterminated the Syrians, from whom he had certainly received no injury. Cyrus at length collected his forces¹¹², and, taking with him those nations which lay betwixt himself and the invader, advanced to meet him. Before he began his march, he dispatched emissaries to the Ionians, with the view of detaching them from Crœsus. This not succeeding, he moved forwards and attacked Crœsus in his camp; they en-

¹¹² *Cyrus at length collected his forces.*]—Cyrus, intimidated by the threats of Crœsus, was inclined to retire into India. His wife Bardane inspired him with new courage, and advised him to consult Daniel, who, on more than one occasion, had predicted future events, both to her and to Darius the Mede. Cyrus having consulted the prophet, received from him an assurance of victory. To me this seems one of those fables which the Jews and earlier Christians made no scruple of asserting as truths not to be disputed.—*Larcher.*

gaged on the plains of Pteria, with the greatest ardour on both sides. The battle was continued with equal violence and loss till night parted the combatants, leaving neither in possession of victory.

LXXVII. The army of Cræsus being inferior in number, and Cyrus on the morrow discovering no inclination to renew the engagement, the Lydian prince determined to return to Sardis, intending to claim the assistance of the Ægyptians, with whose king, Amasis, he had formed an alliance, previous to his treaty with the Lacedæmonians. He had also made an offensive and defensive league with the Babylonians, over whom Labynetus was then king¹¹³. With these, in addition to the Lacedæmonian aids, who were to be ready at a stipulated period, he resolved, after spending a certain time in winter quarters, to attack the Persians early in the spring. Full of these thoughts, Cræsus returned to Sardis, and immediately sent messengers to his different allies, requiring them to meet at Sardis within the space of five months. The troops which he had led against the Persians, being chiefly mercenaries, he disembodied and dismissed, never supposing that Cyrus, who had certainly no claims of victory to assert, would think of following him to Sardis.

¹¹³ *Labynetus was then king.*]—Labynetus was the last king of Babylon. He united himself with Cræsus to repress the too great power of Cyrus. The conduct of Amasis was prompted by a similar motive.—*Larcher*.

LXXVIII. Whilst the mind of Cræsus was thus occupied, the lands near his capital were filled with a multitude of serpents; and it was observed, that to feed on these, the horses neglected and forsook their pastures¹¹⁴. Cræsus conceiving this to be of mysterious import, which it unquestionably was, sent to make enquiry of the Telmessian priests¹¹⁵ concerning it. The answer which his messengers received, explaining the prodigy, they had no opportunity of communicating to Cræsus, for before they could possibly return to Sardis, he was defeated and a captive. The Telmessians had thus interpreted the incident:—that a foreign army was about to attack Cræsus, on whose arrival the natives would be certainly subdued; for as the serpent was produced from the earth, the horse might be considered both as a foreigner and an enemy. When the ministers of the

¹¹⁴ *Forsook their pastures.*]—There is a collection of prodigies by Julius Obsequens; all of which were understood to be predictive of some momentous event. Amongst these, the example of some mice eating the gold consecrated to the use of a divinity, and deposited in his temple, is not less remarkable than the instance before us. The English reader may, perhaps, construe this as rather expressive of the preceding avarice or poverty of the priests, than as predictive of the destruction of Carthage, to which event this with other prodigies was made to refer.—*T.*

¹¹⁵ *Telmessian priests.*]—Telmessus was a son of Apollo, by one of the daughters of Antenor. The god had commerce with her under the form of a little dog; and to make her compensation, endowed her with the faculty of interpreting prodigies. Telmessus, her son, had the same gift. He was interred under the altar of Apollo, in the city of Telmessia, of which he was probably the founder.—*Larcher.*

oracle reported this answer to Crœsus, he was already in captivity, of which, and of the events which accompanied it, they were at that time ignorant.

LXXIX. Cyrus was well informed that it was the intention of Crœsus, after the battle of Pteria, to dismiss his forces; he conceived it therefore advisable to advance with all imaginable expedition to Sardis, before the Lydian forces could be again collected. The measure was no sooner concerted than executed; and conducting his army instantly into Lydia, he was himself the messenger of his arrival. Crœsus, although distressed by an event so contrary to his foresight and expectation, lost no time in preparing the Lydians for battle. At that period no nation of Asia was more hardy or more valiant than the Lydians. They fought principally on horseback, armed with long spears, and were very expert in the management of the horse.

LXXX. The field of battle was a spacious and open plain in the vicinity of Sardis, intersected by many streams, and by the Hyllus in particular, all of which united with one larger than the rest, called the Hermus. This rising in the mountain, which is sacred to Cybele, finally empties itself into the sea, near the city Phocæa. Here Cyrus found the Lydians prepared for the encounter; and as he greatly feared the impression of their cavalry, by the advice of Harpagus the Mede, he took the following means of obviating the danger. He collected all the camels which followed his camp, carrying

rying the provisions and other baggage; taking from these their burdens, he placed on them men accoutred as horsemen. Thus prepared, he ordered them to advance against the Lydian horse; his infantry were to follow in the rear of the camels, and his own cavalry closed the order of the attack. Having thus arranged his forces, he commanded that no quarter should be granted to the Lydians, but that whoever resisted should be put to death, Cræsus himself excepted, who, whatever opposition he might make, was at all events to be taken alive. He placed his camels in the van, knowing the hatred which a horse has to this animal¹⁶, being neither able to support the smell nor the sight of it. He was satisfied that the principal dependance of Cræsus was on his cavalry, which he hoped by this stratagem to render ineffective. The engagement had no sooner commenced, than the horses seeing and smelling the camels, threw their own ranks into disorder, to the total discomfiture of Cræsus. Nevertheless the Lydians did not immediately surrender the day: they discovered the stratagem, and quitting their horses, engaged the Persians on foot; a great number of men fell on both sides; but the Lydians were finally compelled to fly, and, retreating within their walls, were there closely besieged.

¹⁶ *Horse has to this animal.*]—This natural antipathy of the horse for the camel, is affirmed by the ancients; but it is disproved by daily experience, and derided by the best judges, the Orientals.—Gibbon.

LXXXI. Cræsus, believing the siege would be considerably protracted, sent other emissaries to his different confederates. The tendency of his former engagements was to require their presence at Sardis within five months. He now entreated the immediate assistance of his other allies, in common with the Lacedæmonians.

LXXXII. At this crisis the Spartans themselves were engaged in dispute with the Argives, concerning the possession of a place called Thyrea¹¹⁷; of which, although it really constituted a part of the Argive territories, the Lacedæmonians had taken violent possession. All that tract of country which extends from Argos, westward, to Malea, as well the continent as Cythera, and the other islands, belonged to the Argives. They prepared to defend the part of their territories which had been attacked; but the parties coming to a conference, it was agreed that three hundred men on each side should decide the dispute, and that Thyrea should be the reward of victory. Both the armies, by agreement, were to retire to their respective homes, lest remaining on the field of battle either should be induced to render assistance to their party. After their departure the men who had been selected for the purpose came to an engagement, and fought with so little inequality, that out of six hundred but

¹¹⁷ *Called Thyrea.*]—Thyrea was, from its situation, a place of infinite importance to the Argives, as they obtained by it a communication with all their other possessions on that side.—*Larcher.*

three remained, when night alone had terminated the contest. Of the Argives two survived, whose names were Alcenor and Chromius; they hastened to Argos, and claimed the victory. The Lacedæmonian was called Othryades, who, plundering the bodies of the slaughtered Argives, removed their arms to the camp of his countrymen, and then resumed his post in the field. On the second day after the event, the parties met, and both claimed the victory, the Argives, because the greater number of their men survived; the Lacedæmonians because the Argives who remained had fled, but their single man had continued in the field, and plundered the bodies of his adversaries. Their altercations terminated in a battle ¹¹⁸, in which, after considerable loss on both sides, the Lacedæmonians were victorious. From this time and incident the Argives, who formerly suffered their hair to grow its full length, cut it short, binding themselves by a solemn imprecation, that till Thyrea should be recovered, no man should permit his hair to increase, nor Argive woman adorn herself with gold. The Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, issued an edict, that as they formerly wore their hair short ¹¹⁹, it should

¹¹⁸ *Terminated in a battle.*]—Plutarch, on the contrary, affirms, that the Amphictyons coming to the spot, and bearing testimony to the valour of Othryades, adjudged the victory to the Lacedæmonians. He makes no mention of a second battle.
—Larcher.

¹¹⁹ *Formerly wore their hair short.*]—All the Greeks formerly wore their hair very long, which is evident from the epithet so repeatedly given them by Homer, or long-haired. Xenophon, in

should henceforth be permitted to grow. It is reported of Othryades, the survivor of his three hundred countrymen, that ashamed to return to Sparta, when all his comrades had so honourably died, he put himself to death at Thyrea.

LXXXIII. Whilst the Spartans were in this situation, the Sardin messenger arrived, relating the extreme danger of Crœsus, and requesting their immediate assistance. This they without hesitation resolved to give. Whilst they were making for this purpose preparations of men and ships, a second messenger brought intelligence, that Sardis was taken, and Crœsus in captivity. Strongly impressed by this wonderful calamity, the Lacedæmonians made no farther efforts,

LXXXIV. Sardis was thus taken :—On the fourteenth day of the siege, Cyrus sent some horsemen round his camp, promising a reward to whoever should first scale the wall. The attempt was

in contradiction to the passage before us, remarks, that the Lacedæmonian custom of suffering the hair to grow, was amongst the institutions of Lycurgus. Plutarch also denies the fact here introduced.—*Larcher*,

This battle necessarily brings to mind the contest of the Horatii and Curiatii, which decided the empire of Rome. The account which Suidas gives of Othryades, differs essentially. Othryades, says he, was wounded, and concealed himself amongst the bodies of the slain; and when Alcenor and Chromius, the Argives who survived, were departed, he himself stripping the bodies of the enemy, erected thus a trophy, as it were, of human blood, and immediately died.—7.

made, but without success. After which a certain Mardian, whose name was Hyræades¹²⁰, made a daring effort on a part of the citadel where no sentinel was stationed; it being so strong and so difficult of approach as seemingly to defy all attack. Around this place alone Meles had neglected to carry his son Leon, whom he had by a concubine, the Telmessian priests having declared, that Sardis should never be taken, if Leon were carried round the walls. Leon, it seems, was carried by his father round every part of the citadel which was exposed to attack. He omitted taking him round that which is opposite to mount Tmolus, from the persuasion that its natural strength rendered all modes of defence unnecessary. Here, however, the Mardian had the preceding day observed a Lydian

¹²⁰ *Hyræades.*]—Of this person Xenophon does not give us the name. According to him, a Persian who had been the slave of a man on military duty in the citadel, served as guide to the troops of Cyrus. In other respects, his account of the capture of Sardis differs but little from that of our Historian, —*Larcher.*

By means of this very rock, and by a similar stratagem, Sardis was a long time afterwards taken, under the conduct of Antiochus. The circumstances are described at length by Polybius. An officer had observed, that vultures and birds of prey gathered there about the offals and dead bodies thrown into the hollow by the besieged; and inferred that the wall standing on the edge of the precipice was neglected, as secure from attack. He scaled it with a resolute party, while Antiochus called off the attention both of his own army and of the enemy, by a feint, marching as if he intended to attack the Persian gate. Two thousand soldiers rushed in at the gate opened for them, and took their post at the theatre, when the town was plundered and burned.—*T.*

descend

descend to recover his helmet, which had fallen down the precipice. He revolved the incident in his mind. He attempted to scale it; he was seconded by other Persians, and their example followed by greater numbers. In this manner was Sardis stormed¹²¹, and afterwards given up to plunder.

LXXXV. We have now to speak of the fate of Cræsus. He had a son, as we have before related, who, though accomplished in other respects, was unfortunately dumb. Cræsus in his former days of good fortune, had made every attempt to obtain a cure for this infirmity. Amongst other things, he sent to enquire of the Delphic oracle. The Pythian returned this answer :—

Wide ruling Lydian, in thy wishes wild,
Ask not to hear the accents of thy child;
Far better were his silence for thy peace,
And sad will be the day when that shall cease.

¹²¹ *In this manner was Sardis stormed.*]—Polyænus relates the matter differently. According to him, Cyrus availed himself of a truce which he had concluded with Cræsus, to advance his forces, and making his approach by night, took the city by surprize. Cræsus still remaining in possession of the citadel, expected the arrival of his Grecian succours: but Cyrus putting in irons the relations and friends of those who defended the citadel, shewed them in that state to the besieged; at the same time he informed them by a herald, that if they would give up the place he would set their friends at liberty; but that if they persevered in their defence, he would put them to death. The besieged chose rather to surrender, than cause their relations to perish.—T.

During

During the storm of the city, a Persian meeting Cræsus, was, through ignorance of his person, about to kill him. The king overwhelmed by his calamity, took no care to avoid the blow or escape death; but his dumb son, when he saw the violent designs of the Persian, overcome with astonishment and terror, exclaimed aloud, "Oh, man, do not kill Cræsus!"¹²² This was the first time he had ever articulated, but he retained the faculty of speech from this event as long as he lived,

LXXXVI. The Persians thus obtained possession of Sardis, and made Cræsus captive, when he had reigned fourteen years, and after a siege of fourteen days; a mighty empire, agreeably to the prediction which had deluded him, being then destroyed. The Persians brought him to the presence of Cyrus, who ordered him to be placed in chains upon the summit of an huge wooden pile¹²³, and
fourteen

¹²² "*Do not kill Cræsus!*"]—Mr. Hayley, in his Essay on History, reprobating the irreligious spirit of Mr. Gibbon, happily introduces this incident.

My verse, says the Poet,

—Breathes an honest sigh of deep concern,
And pities genius, when his wild career
Gives faith a wound, and innocence a fear.
Humility herself, divinely mild,
Sublime Religion's meek and modest child,
Like the dumb son of Cræsus, in the strife
Where force assail'd his father's sacred life,
Breaks silence, and with filial duty warm,
Bids thee revere her parent's hallowed form.

¹²³ *An huge wooden pile.*]—The cruelty of this conduct of
Cyrus

fourteen Lydian youths around him. He did this, either desirous of offering to some deity the first fruits of his victory, in compliance with some vow which he had made ; or, perhaps, anxious to know whether any deity would liberate Cræsus, of whose piety he had heard, from the danger of being consumed by fire. When Cræsus stood erect upon the pile, although in this extremity of misery, he did not forget the saying of Solon, which now appeared of divine inspiration, that no living mortal could be accounted happy. When the memory of this saying occurred to Cræsus, it is said, that rousing himself from the profoundest silence of affliction, he thrice pronounced aloud the name of Solon¹²⁴.

Cyrus is aggravated from the consideration that Cræsus was his relation. See chap. 73.—*T*.

¹²⁴ *The name of Solon.*]—It seems in this place not improper to introduce from Plutarch the following particulars, with respect to Cræsus and Solon. That Solon, says Plutarch, should converse with Cræsus, seems to some not consistent with chronology ; but I cannot for this reason reject a relation so credible in itself, and so well attested. Plutarch, after this remark, proceeds to give an account of the conversation betwixt Cræsus and Solon, nearly in the same words with Herodotus : “ The felicity of that man,” concludes the philosopher, to the king, who still lives, is like the glory of a wrestler still within the ring, precarious and uncertain.” He was then dismissed, having vexed, but not instructed Cræsus. But when Cræsus was conquered by Cyrus, his city taken, and himself a prisoner, he was bound, and about to be burned on a pile ; then he remembered the words of Solon, and three times pronounced his name. The explanation given at the request of Cyrus, preserved the life of Cræsus, and obtained him respect and honour with his conqueror. Thus Solon had the glory, by the same saying, to instruct one prince and preserve another.—*Plutarch's life of Solon.*

Cyrus

Cyrus hearing this, desired by his interpreters to know who it was that he invoked. They approached, and asked him, but he continued silent. At length, being compelled to explain himself, he said, "I named a man with whom I had rather that all kings should converse, than be master of the greatest riches." Not being sufficiently understood, he was solicited to be more explicit; to their repeated and importunate enquiries, he replied to this effect: That Solon, an Athenian, had formerly visited him, a man who, when he had seen all his immense riches, treated them with disdain; whose sayings were at that moment verified in his fate; sayings which he had applied not to him in particular, but to all mankind, and especially to those who were in their own estimation happy. While Cræsus was thus speaking the pile was lighted, and the flame began to ascend. Cyrus being informed of what had passed, felt compunction for what he had done. His heart reproached him, that being himself a mortal, he had condemned to a cruel death by fire a man formerly not inferior to himself. He feared the anger of the gods, and reflecting that all human affairs are precarious and uncertain, he commanded the fire to be instantly extinguished, and Cræsus to be saved with his companions. The flames, however, repelled the efforts of the ministers of Cyrus,

LXXXVII. In this extremity, the Lydians affirm, that Cræsus, informed of the change of the king's sentiments in his favour, by seeing the officious

cious efforts of the multitude to extinguish the flames, which seemed likely to be ineffectual, implored the assistance of Apollo, entreating, that if he had ever made him any acceptable offering¹²⁵, he would now interpose, and deliver him from the impending danger. When Cræsus, with tears, had thus invoked the god, the sky, which before was serene and tranquil, suddenly became dark and gloomy, a violent storm of rain succeeded, and the fire of the pile was extinguished. This event satisfied Cyrus that Cræsus was both a good man in himself, and a favourite of heaven: causing him to be taken down from the pile, "Cræsus," said he, addressing him, "what could induce you to invade my territories, and become my enemy rather than my friend?" "Oh king," replied Cræsus, "it was the prevalence of your good and of my evil fortune which prompted my attempt. I attacked your dominions, impelled and deluded by the deity of the Greeks. No one can be so infatuated as not to prefer tranquillity to war. In peace children inter their parents; war violates the order of nature, and causes parents to inter their children. It must have

¹²⁵ *Ever made him any acceptable offering.*]—Larcher is of opinion, that in this passage Herodotus must have had in his eye the following lines of Homer :

Thou source of light, whom Tenedos adores,
And whose bright presence gilds thy Chrysa's shores;
If e'er with wreaths I hung thy sacred fane,
Or fed the flames with fat of oxen slain,
God of the silver bow, &c.—

Iliad, Book i. v. 55. of Pope's Translation.

pleased

pleased the gods that these things should so happen."

LXXXVIII. Cyrus immediately ordered him to be unbound, placed him near his person, and treated him with great respect; indeed he excited the admiration of all who were present. After an interval of silent meditation, Cræsus observed the Persians engaged in the plunder of the city. "Does it become me, Cyrus," said he, "to continue silent on this occasion, or to speak the sentiments of my heart?" Cyrus entreated him to speak without apprehension or reserve. "About what," he returned, "is that multitude so eagerly employed?" "They are plundering your city," replied Cyrus, "and possessing themselves of your wealth." "No," answered Cræsus, "they do not plunder *my* city, nor possess themselves of *my* wealth, I have no concern with either; it is your property which they are thus destroying."

LXXXIX. These words disturbed Cyrus; desiring therefore those who were present to withdraw, he asked Cræsus what measures he would recommend in the present emergence. "The gods," answered Cræsus, "have made me your captive, and you are therefore justly entitled to the benefit of my reflections. Nature has made the Persians haughty but poor. If you permit them to indulge without restraint this spirit of devastation, by which they may become rich, it is probable that your acquiescence may thus foster a spirit of rebellion

lion

lion against yourself. I would recommend the following mode to be adopted, if agreeable to your wisdom: station some of your guards at each of the gates, let it be their business to stop the plunderers with their booty, and bid them assign as a reason, that one tenth part must be consecrated to Jupiter. Thus you will not incur their enmity by any seeming violence of conduct; they will even accede without reluctance to your views, under the impression of your being actuated by a sense of duty."

XC. Cyrus was delighted with the advice, and immediately adopted it; he stationed guards in the manner recommended by Cræsus, whom he soon after thus addressed: "Cræsus, your conduct and your words mark a princely character, I desire you, therefore, to request of me whatever you please, and your wish shall be instantly gratified." "Sir," replied Cræsus, "you will materially oblige me, by your permission to send these letters to the god of Greece¹²⁵, whom, above all others, I have honoured; and to enquire of him, whether it be his rule to delude those who have claims upon his kindness." When Cyrus expressed a wish to know the occasion of this implied reproach, Cræsus ingenuously explained each particular of his con-

¹²⁵ *God of Greece.*]—The Heathens in general believed that there was but one God, but they believed, or rather talked of a multitude of ministers, deputies, or inferior gods, as acting under this supreme. The first may be called the philosophical belief, and the second the vulgar belief of the Heathens.—*Spence.*

duct, the oracles he had received, and the gifts he had presented; declaring, that these inspired communications alone had induced him to make war upon the Persians. He finished his narrative with again soliciting permission to send and reproach the divinity which had deceived him. Cyrus smiled: "I will not only grant this," said he, "but whatever else you shall require." Cræsus accordingly dispatched some Lydians to Delphi, who were commissioned to place his fetters on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the deity were not ashamed at having, by his oracles, induced Cræsus to make war on Persia, with the expectation of overturning the empire of Cyrus, of which war these chains were the first fruits: and they were farther to enquire, if the gods of Greece were usually ungrateful.

XCI. The Lydians proceeded on their journey, and executed their commission; they are said to have received the following reply from the Pythian priestess: "That to avoid the determination of destiny¹²⁷ was impossible even for a divinity: that Cræsus, in his person, expiated the crimes of his ancestor,

¹²⁷ *Determination of destiny.*]—There were two fates, the greater and the less: the determinations of the first were immutable; those of the latter might be set aside. The expression in Virgil, of "*Si qua fata aspera rumpas*," is certainly equivocal, and must be understood as applying to the lesser fates. This subject is fully discussed by Bentley, in his notes to Horace, Epist. book 2. who, for "*ingentia facta*," proposes to read "*ingentia fata*."—*T.*

in the fifth descent¹²⁸; who being a guardſman of the Heraclidæ, was ſeduced by the artifice of a woman to aſſaſſinate his maſter, and without the remotest pretenſions ſucceeded to his dignities: that Apollo was deſirous to have this deſtruction of Sardis fall on the deſcendants of Crœſus, but was unable to counteract the decrees of fate; that he had really obviated them as far as was poſſible; and, to ſhew his partiality to Crœſus¹²⁹, had cauſed

¹²⁸ *In the fifth deſcent.*]—“Such, you ſay, is the power of the gods, that if death ſhall deliver an individual from the puniſhment due to his crimes, vengeance ſhall ſtill be ſatisfied on his children, his grandchildren, or ſome of his poſterity. Wonderful as may be the equity of Providence, will any city ſuffer a law to be introduced, which ſhall puniſh a ſon or a grandſon for the crimes of his father or his grandfather?” *Cicero de Natura Deorum*.—Upon the above Larcher remarks, that Cicero ſpeaks like a wiſe, Herodotus like a ſuperſtitious man. It is true that it is the Divinity who ſpeaks; but it is the Hiſtorian who makes him, and who approves of what he ſays.

Crœſus was the fifth deſcendant of Gyges. The genealogy was this: Gyges, Ardys, Saddyattes, Alyattes, Crœſus.—*T.*

¹²⁹ *Partiality to Crœſus.*]—In the remoter ages of ignorance and ſuperſtition, the divinities, or their ſymbols, did not always experience from their worſhippers the ſame uniform veneration. When things ſucceeded contrary to their wiſhes or their prayers, they ſometimes chained their gods, ſometimes beat them, and often reproached them. So that it ſeems difficult to account for thoſe qualities of the human mind, which, acknowledging the inclination to hear petitions, with the power to grant them, at one time expreſſed themſelves in the moſt abject and unmanly ſuperſtition, at another indulged reſentments equally prepoſterous and unnatural. To a mind but the leaſt enlightened, the very circumſtance of a deity's apologizing to a fallen mortal for his predictions and their effects, ſeems to have but little tendency to excite in future an awe of his power, a reverence for his wiſdom, or a confidence in his juſtice.—*T.*

the ruin of Sardis to be deferred for the space of three years : that of this Cræsus might be assured, that if the will of the fates had been punctually fulfilled, he would have been three years sooner a captive : neither ought he to forget, that when in danger of being consumed by fire, Apollo had afforded him his succour : that with respect to the declaration of the oracle, Cræsus was not justified in his complaints ; for Apollo had declared, that if he made war against the Persians, a mighty empire would be overthrown ; the real purport of which communication if he had been anxious to understand, it became him to have enquired whether the god alluded to his empire, or the empire of Cyrus ; but that not understanding the reply which had been made, nor condescending to make a second enquiry, he had been himself the cause of his own misfortune : that he had not at all comprehended the last answer of the oracle, which related to the mule ; for that this mule was Cyrus, who was born of two parents of two different nations, of whom the mother was as noble as the father was mean ; his mother was a Mede, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes ; his father was a Persian, and tributary to the Medes, who, although a man of the very meanest rank, had married a princess, who was his mistress."—This answer of the Pythian the Lydians, on their return, communicated to Cræsus. Cræsus having heard it, exculpated the deity, and acknowledged himself to be reprehensible. Such, however, was the termination of the empire of Cræsus, and this the recital of the first conquest of Ionia.

XCII. Besides the sacred offerings of Cræsus which we have before enumerated; many others are extant in Greece. In the Bœotian Thebes there is a golden tripod ¹³⁰, consecrated by him to the Ismenian Apollo ¹³¹: there are also at Ephesus ¹³² some golden heifers, and a number of columns. He gave also to the Pronean Minerva ¹³³ a large golden shield, which is still to be seen at Delphi. All the above remained within my remembrance; many others have been lost. He presented also, as it appears, to the Milesian Branchidæ, gifts equal in weight and value to what he sent to Delphi. The presents which he

¹³⁰ *Tripod.*]—We must not confound the tripods of the ancients with the utensils known by us at present under a similar name (in French *tripieds* corresponding with the kitchen utensil called in English *footman*.) The tripod was a vessel standing upon three feet, of which there were two kinds: the one was appropriated to festivals, and contained wine mixed with water; the others were placed upon the fire, in which water was made warm.—*Larcher*.

¹³¹ *Ismenian Apollo.*]—Ismenus was a river in Bœotia, not far from Aulis. *Ismenius was synonymous with Thebanus, and therefore the Ismenian Apollo is the same with the Theban Apollo.—*T*.

¹³² *Ephesus.*]—Pocock says, that the place now called Aïestoulouk is ancient Ephesus. Chandler says otherwise.

The two cities of Ephesus and Smyrna have been termed the eyes of Asia Minor: they were distant from each other three hundred and twenty stadia, or forty miles, in a strait line.—*T*.

¹³³ *Pronean Minerva.*]—This means the Minerva whose shrine or temple was opposite to that of Apollo at Delphi: but Herodotus, in his eighth book, makes mention of the shrine of Minerva Pronoia, or of *Minerva the goddess of providence. So that, at Delphi, there were two different shrines or temples consecrated to Minerva, the Pronean, and the Pronoian.—*T*.

made to Delphi, as well as those which he sent to Amphiaraus, were given for sacred purposes from his own private or hereditary possessions. His other donations were formerly the property of an adversary, who had shewn himself hostile to Cræsus before he succeeded to the throne, attaching himself to Pantaleon¹³⁴, and favouring his views on the imperial dignity. Pantaleon was also the son of Alyattes, and brother of Cræsus, but not by the same mother : Alyattes had Cræsus by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian wife. But when, agreeably to the will of his father, Cræsus took possession of the throne, he destroyed, in a fuller's mill, this man who had opposed him : his wealth he distributed in the manner we have before related, in compliance with a vow which he had formerly made. Such is the history of the offerings of Cræsus.

XCIII. If we except the gold dust which descends from mount Tmolus¹³⁵, Lydia can exhibit no curiosity which may vie with those of other

¹³⁴ *Pantaleon.*]—When Cræsus mounted the Lydian throne, he divided the kingdom with his brother. A Lydian remarked to him, that the sun obtains to mankind all the comforts which the earth produces, and that, deprived of its influence, it would cease to be fruitful. But if there were two suns, it were to be feared that every thing would be scorched and perish. For this reason the Lydians have but one king; him they regard as their protector, but they will not allow of two.—*Strabo.*

¹³⁵ *Mount Tmolus.*]—The country about mount Tmolus, which comprehended the plain watered by the Hermus, was always remarkable for its fertility and beauty; and whoever will be at the pains to consult Chandler's Travels, will find that it has lost little of its ancient claims to admiration.—7.

countries.

countries. It boasts, however, of one monument of art, second to none but those of the Ægyptians and Babylonians. It is the sepulchre of Alyattes ¹³⁶, father of Croesus. The ground-work is composed of immense stones; the rest of the structure is a huge mound of earth. The edifice was raised by men of mean and mercenary occupations, assisted by young women, who prostituted themselves for hire. On the summit of this monument there remained, within my remembrance, five termini, upon which were inscriptions to ascertain the performance of each, and to intimate that the women accomplished the greater part of the work. All the young women of Lydia prostitute themselves, by which they procure their marriage-portion; this, with their persons, they afterwards dispose of as they think proper. The circumference of the tomb is six furlongs and two plethra, the breadth thirteen plethra, it is terminated by a large piece of water, which the Lydians affirm to be inexhaustible, and is called the Gygean lake ¹³⁷.

XCIV. The manners and customs of the Lydians do not essentially vary from those of Greece, except in this prostitution of the young women.

¹³⁶ *Sepulchre of Alyattes.*]—The remains of this barrow are still conspicuous within five miles of Sardes, now called Sart. The industrious Dr. Chandler informs us, that the mold which has been washed down, conceals the basement; but that and a considerable treasure might be discovered, if the barrow were opened.—See *Chandler's Travels*.

¹³⁷ *Gygean lake,*]—still remains.—*T.*

They are the first people on record who coined gold and silver ¹³⁸ into money, and traded in retail. They claim also the invention of certain games, which have since been practised among the Grecians, and which, as they say, were first discovered at the time of their sending a colony into Tyrrhenia. The particulars are thus related:—In the reign of Atys, the son of Menes, all Lydia was reduced to the severest extremity by a scarcity of corn. Against this they contended for a considerable time, by patient and unremitted industry. This not proving effectual, they sought other resources, each one exerting his own genius. Upon this occasion they invented bowls and dice, with many other games: of chess, however, the Lydians do not claim the discovery. These they applied as an alternative against the effects of the famine ¹³⁹. One day they gave themselves so totally to their diversions, as to abstain entirely from food; on the next they refrained from their games, and took their necessary repasts. They lived thus for the space of eighteen years. But when their calamity remitted nothing of its violence, but rather increased, the

¹³⁸ *Who coined gold and silver.*—Who were really the first people that coined gold money, is a question not to be decided. According to some, it was Phidon, king of Argos; according to others, Demodice, the wife of Midas.—*Larcher*.

¹³⁹ *Against the effects of the famine.*—That the Lydians may have been the inventors of games, is very probable; that under the pressure of famine, they might detach half their nation to seek their fortune elsewhere, is not unlikely: but that to soften their miserable situation, and to get rid of the sensations of hunger, they should eat only every other day, and that for the space of eighteen years, appears perfectly absurd.—*Larcher*.

king divided the whole nation by lot into two parts, one of which was to continue at home, the other to migrate elsewhere. They who stayed behind retained their ancient king; the emigrants placed themselves under the conduct of his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. These leaving their country, as had been determined, went to Sinyrna, where building themselves vessels for the purpose of transplanting their property and their goods, they removed in search of another residence. After visiting different nations, they arrived at length in Umbria. Here they constructed cities, and have continued to the present period, changing their ancient appellation of Lydians, for that of Tyrrhenians ¹⁴², after the son of their former sovereign.

XCV. We have before related how these Lydians were reduced under the dominion of Persia. It now becomes necessary for us to explain who this Cyrus, the conqueror of Croesus, was, and by what means the Persians obtained the empire of Asia. I shall follow the authority of those Persians who seem more influenced by a regard to truth, than any par-

¹⁴² *Tyrrhenians.*]—It was these Tyrrhenians, or Etruscans, who taught the Romans their games and combats, in which they excelled, especially in racing with chariots. For the same reason, most of the great number of Etruscan monuments found in Italy relate to sports and games; which confirms what authors say of the Lydians, and of the Etruscans who are sprung from them.—*Monifaucen.*

trality to Cyrus; not ignorant, however, that there are three other narratives ¹⁴¹ of this monarch.—The Assyrians had been in possession of the Upper Asia for a period of five hundred and twenty years. The Medes first of all revolted from their authority, and contended with such obstinate bravery against their masters, that they were ultimately successful, and exchanged servitude for freedom. Other nations soon followed their example, which, after living for a time under the protection of their own laws, were again deprived of their freedom, upon the following occasion.

XCVI. There was a man among the Medes, of the name of Deioces, of great reputation for his wisdom, whose ambitious views were thus disguised and exercised:—The Medes were divided into different districts, and Deioces was distinguished in his own by his vigilant and impartial distribution of justice. This he practised in opposition to the general depravity and weakness of the government of his country, and not unconscious that the profligate and the just must ever be at war with each other,

¹⁴¹ *Three other narratives.*]—Ctesias, in the fragments of his Persian history, preserved by Photius, differs from Herodotus in his account of the origin and exploits of Cyrus. What Xenophon relates in his *Cyropædia*, is familiar to every one. Æschylus, an author of great antiquity, who fought at Marathon against the troops of Darius, and who was also in the battles of Salamis and Platea, has, in his tragedy, intitled *The Persians*, followed a different tradition from them all.—*Larcher*.

The Medes who lived nearest him, to signify their approbation of his integrity, made him their judge. In this situation, having one more elevated in view, he conducted himself with the most rigid equity. His behaviour obtained the highest applauses of his countrymen ; and his fame extending to the neighbouring districts, the people contrasted his just and equitable decisions with the irregularity of their own corrupt rulers, and unanimously resorted to his tribunal, not suffering any one else to determine their litigations.

XC VII. The increasing fame of his integrity and wisdom constantly augmented the number of those who came to consult him. But when Deioces saw the pre-eminence which he was so universally allowed, he appeared no more on his accustomed tribunal, and declared that he should sit as a judge no longer ; intimating, that it was inconsistent for him to regulate the affairs of others, to the entire neglect and injury of his own. After this, as violence and rapine prevailed more than ever in the different districts of the Medes, they called a public assembly to deliberate on national affairs. As far as I have been able to collect, they who were attached to Deioces delivered sentiments to this effect :—
“ Our present situation is really intolerable, let us therefore elect a king, that we may have the advantage of a regular government, and continue our usual occupations, without any fear or danger of molestation.” In conformity to these sentiments, the Medes determined to have a king.

XC VIII.

XCVIII. After some consultation about what person they should choose, Deioces was proposed and elected with universal praise. Upon his elevation he required a palace to be erected for him suitable to his dignity, and to have guards appointed for the security of his person. The Medes, in compliance with his request, built him a strong and magnificent edifice¹⁴² in a situation which he himself chose, and suffered him to appoint his guards from among the whole nation. Deioces, as soon as he possessed the supreme authority, obliged the Medes to build a city, which, with respect to its ornament and strength, was to have a pre-eminence above all the rest. They obeyed him in this also, and constructed what we now call Ecbatana¹⁴³. Its walls were strong and ample, built in circles one within another, rising each above each by the height of their respective battlements. This mode of building was favoured by the situation of the place, which

¹⁴² *Magnificent edifice.*]—This palace was at the foot of the citadel, and about seven furlongs in circumference. The wood work was of cedar or cypress-wood: the beams, the ceilings, the columns of the porticos, and the peristyles, were plated with either gold or silver; the roofs were covered with silver tiles. The whole was plundered about the time of Alexander.—*Larcher.*

¹⁴³ *Ecbatana.*]—Mr. Gibbon, whose geographical knowledge is superior to that of all his contemporaries, thinks, that Ecbatana was probably in the same situation with the modern Tauris.

Diodorus Siculus is of opinion, that Ecbatana was built on a plain.

Dutens, in his learned and ingenious enquiry into the origin of the discoveries attributed to the moderns, brings this among other instances to prove, that the ancients, in magnificence, have never been surpassed, and seldom equalled.—*T.*

was

was a gently rising ground. They did yet more : the city being thus formed of seven circles, and within the last, stood the king's palace and the royal treasury. The largest of these walls is nearly equal in extent to the circumference of Athens ; this is of a white colour, the next to it is black, the next purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange : thus the battlements of each were distinguished by a different colour. The two innermost walls are differently ornamented, one having its battlements plated with silver, the other with gold.

XCIX. Such were the fortifications and the palace which were erected under the direction of Deioces, who commanded the body of the people to fix their habitations beyond the walls which protected his residence. After which he was the first who instituted that kind of pomp which forbids access to the royal person, and only admits communication with him by intermediate agents, the king himself being never publicly seen. His edict also signified, that to smile or to spit in the king's presence, or in the presence of each other, was an act of indecency ¹⁴⁴. His motive for this conduct was

¹⁴⁴ *An act of indecency.*]—The modern manners of the Orientals bear in many instances a minute conformity to the most ancient accounts of them which are come down to us. The difficulty of approach to the princes and great men of the East, is a circumstance remarked by all modern travellers. The act of spitting, in the East, is much more detestable than we have any conception of. The Arabs never spit before their superiors ; and Sir John Chardin tells us, that spitting before any one,

was the security of his power ; thinking, that if he were seen familiarly by those who were educated with him, born with equal pretensions, and not his inferiors in virtue, it might excite their regret, and provoke them to sedition. On the contrary, by his withdrawing himself from observation, he thought their respect for him would be increased.

C. When Deioces had taken these measures to increase the splendour of his situation and the security of his power, he became extremely rigorous in his administration of justice. They who had causes to determine, sent them to him in writing, by his official servants, which, with the decisions upon each, he regularly returned. This was the form which he observed in judiciary matters. His proceeding with regard to penal offences was thus :— Whenever he heard of any injury being perpetrated, and for this purpose he appointed spies and informers in different parts of his dominions, the offender was first brought to his presence, and then punished according to his offence,

CI. Deioces thus collected the Medes into one nation, over which he ruled : they consisted of the

or spitting upon the ground in speaking of any one's actions, is, through the East, an expression of extreme detestation.—*T.*

Larcher remarks, that the use of tobacco has rendered the Orientals less punctilious with respect to the circumstance of spitting. Niebuhr informs us, in his description of Arabia, that he has frequently seen the master of a family sitting with a china spitting-pot near him. He at the same time observes, that they do *not* often spit, although they continue smoking for many hours at a time.

Buse,

Buſæ, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, and the Magi.

CII. Deioces reigned fifty-three years, and at his deceaſe his ſon Phraortes ſucceeded to the throne. Not ſatisfied with his hereditary dominions, he ſingled out the Perſians as the objects of his ambitious views, and reduced them firſt of all under the dominion of the Medes. Supreme of theſe two great and powerful nations, he overran Aſia, alternately ſubduing the people of whom it was compoſed. He came at length to the Aſſyrians, and proceeded to attack that part of them which inhabited Nineveh ¹⁴⁵. Theſe were formerly the firſt power in Aſia: their allies at this period had ſeparated from them; but they were ſtill, with regard to their internal ſtrength, reſpectable. In the twenty-ſecond year of his reign, Phraortes ¹⁴⁶, in an excursion againſt this people, perished, with the greater part of his army.

CIII. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Cyaxares, grandſon of Deioces. He is reported to have been

¹⁴⁵ *Nineveh*,]—is ſuppoſed to be the modern Mouſul.—*Pecock*.

¹⁴⁶ *Phraortes*.]—According to Herodotus,

the reign of Deioces was	yrs.
	53
of Phraortes	22
of Cyaxares	12
of the Scythians	28
of Aſiyages	35
	150
	9.

superior to his ancestors in valour,* and was the first who regularly trained the Asiatics to military service; dividing them, who had before been promiscuously confounded, into companies of spearmen, cavalry, and archers. He it was who was carrying on war with the Lydians, when the engagement which happened in the day was suddenly interrupted by nocturnal darkness. Having formed an amicable connection with the different nations of Asia beyond the Halys, he proceeded with all his forces to the attack of Nineveh, being equally desirous of avenging his father, and becoming master of the city. He vanquished the Assyrians in battle; but when he was engaged in the siege of Nineveh, he was surprized by an army of Scythians, commanded by Madyas, son of Protothyas. Having expelled the Cimmerians ¹⁴⁷ from Europe, the Scythians had found their way into Asia, and, continuing to pursue the fugitives, had arrived at the territories of the Medes.

CIV. From the lake Mæotis an expeditious traveller may pass to the river Phasis ¹⁴⁸ amongst the

¹⁴⁷ *Cimmerians.*]—The history of the Scythians is remarkably obscure. Justin, speaking of the incursions of this people into Asia, sometimes coincides with Herodotus, at others materially contradicts him. Strabo makes a slight mention of this expedition of Madyas: but I am ignorant by what authority he makes him king of the Cimmerians; I should rather think a mistake has been here made by some copyist.—*Larcher.*

¹⁴⁸ *Phasis.*]—This country has been at all times a nursery for slaves: it furnished the Greeks, Romans, and ancient Asia, with them.

the Colchians, in the space of thirty days : it requires less time to pass from Colchis into Media, which are only separated by the nation of the Saspirians. The Scythians, however, did not come by this way but, leaving mount Caucasus on their right, passed through the high country by a much longer rout. Here they met with the Medes, who, in a fixed battle, lost not only the victory, but the empire of Asia.

CV. The Scythians having obtained the entire possession of Asia, advanced towards Ægypt. Phammitichus, king of Ægypt, met them in Palestine of Syria, and, by presents and importunity united, prevailed on them to return. The Scythians, on their march homewards, came to Ascalon, a Syrian city : the greater part of their body passed through without molesting it ; but some of them remaining behind, plundered the temple of the celestial Venus. Of all the sacred buildings erected to this goddess, this, according to my authorities, was far the most ancient ¹⁴². The Cyprians themselves acknowledge, that their temple was built after the model of this, and that of Cythera was constructed by certain

them. But is it not extraordinary to read in Herodotus, that formerly Colchis, now called Georgia, received black inhabitants from Ægypt, and to see the same country at this day make so different a return ?—*Veliney*.

¹⁴² *Far the most ancient.*]—Pausanias says, that the Assyrians were the first who worshipped Venus Urania. He adds, that the inhabitants of Paphos in Cyprus, and the Phœnicians of Palestine, received this worship from them, and afterwards communicated it to the people of Cythera.—*Wesseling*.

Phœnicians,

Phœnicians, who came from this part of Syria; Upon the Scythians who plundered this temple; and indeed upon all their posterity, the deity entailed a fatal punishment: they were afflicted with the female disease ¹⁵⁰. The Scythians themselves confess, that

¹⁵⁰ *Female disease.*]—No passage of Herodotus has been the occasion of more doubt and dispute than this. The President Bouhier (*Dissertat. sur l'Histoire d'Herodote, c. 20.*) enumerates these six different opinions, and decides in favour of the last. —Some suppose the female disease to be languor, weakness, and impotence; others, a delicate and effeminate way of living; others, the hemorrhoids; others, the disease now known by the name of venereal; others, the catamenia, τα γυναικεία; and others, the vice against nature. Larcher refutes Bouhier, but without seeming to have established any opinion of his own. It is probable that he never saw a dissertation of Professor Chr. Gott. Heyne, in the *Commentationes Societatis Reg. Gotting. anni M.DCC.L. xx. & T. II. p. 23—44.* who proposes another explanation of our author, which has perhaps a fairer chance of success than any of the rest. He takes it for granted, after Mercurialis and Wesseling, that Herodotus and Hippocrates speak of the same thing. He then separates the facts which these authors state, from the superstition of the one, and the ill-founded science or systematic prejudices of the other. From these facts, illustrated by a comparison with the narrations of modern travellers, he draws this conclusion: That the disease called by Herodotus the female disease, was of that kind which proceeds from a melancholic, hysterical, or other nervous affection; in consequence of which a perturbation of the intellect takes place. Among barbarous nations, ignorant of the powers and operations of nature, those disorders whose cause and cure were unknown, it was natural to attribute to divine influence; and the patients finding themselves suddenly and unaccountably bereft of strength, of vigour, and of spirits, might be easily persuaded, by these symptoms, that the displeasure of a deity had inflicted this punishment, and, for some crime or other, had changed them into

that their countrymen suffer this malady in consequence of the above crime : their condition also may be seen by those who visit Scythia, where they are called Enarezæ.

CVI. After possessing the dominion of Asia for a space of twenty-eight years, the Scythians lost all they had obtained, by their licentiousness and neglect. The extravagance of their public extortions could only be equalled by the rapacity with which they plundered individuals. At a feast, to which they were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes, the greater

into women. A similar effect of a disordered mind has been common in all ages. Many persons believe themselves transformed into animals or other substances ; and while they are subject to this illusion, talk, reason, and act conformably to such belief. If, therefore, this disease appeared chiefly amongst these Scythians who plundered the temple of Venus, it might be sufficient ground for the Scythians themselves to refer such a calamity to the displeasure of a deity ; and the nature of the punishment, as well as the consciousness of their crime, would readily point out Venus for the offended power. If the disease appeared soon after the plunder of the temple, it might be sufficient ground for an author not quite free from superstition and credulity, to set it down as a judgment from Heaven upon the offenders. Whether the expression in Hippocrates, of *τα γυναικία σπυλαίνονται*, ought to be understood in a good or in a bad sense, may perhaps admit of a doubt ; however, either sense will equally suit the foregoing explanation. It is perfectly natural, and indeed almost necessary, that males who fancy themselves women, should take the dress, adopt the language and manners, and perform the offices of the other sex : nor would it be at all inconsistent with their supposed transformation, that they should think it their duty to be the passive instruments of what would to them seem natural desire.—7.

part of them were cut off when in a state of intoxication. The Medes thus recovered their possessions, and all their ancient importance; after which they took Nineveh; the particulars of which incident I shall hereafter relate ¹⁵¹. They moreover subdued the Assyrians, those only excepted which inhabited the Babylonian district. Cyaxares reigned forty years, and then died; but in this period is to be included the time in which the Scythians possessed the empire.

CVII. His son Astyages succeeded to the throne: he had a daughter whom he called Mandane; she, in a dream, appeared to make so great a quantity of urine ¹⁵², that not only his principal city, but all Asia, was overflowed. The purport of this vision, when explained in each particular by the magi, the usual interpreters, terrified him exceedingly. Under this impression, he refused to marry his daughter, when she arrived at a suitable age, to any Mede whose rank justified pretensions to her. He chose rather

¹⁵¹ *Hereafter relate.*]—This is one of the passages cited to prove that Herodotus wrote other works which are not come down to us. The investigation of this matter has greatly perplexed and divided the literary world. It is discussed at considerable length by Bouchier and by Larcher, to whose several works we beg leave to refer those who wish to know more of a question which can involve no great interest to an English reader.
—T.

¹⁵² *Quantity of, &c.*]—Voltaire has started some objections to this passage of Herodotus; to which my answer may be seen in the Supplement to the Philosophy of History, page 79, &c. of the first edition; page 104, &c. of the second.—Larcher.

to give her to Cambyfes, a Perfian, whom he felected as being of a respectable family, but of a very pacific difpofition, though inferior in his eftimation to the loweft of the Medes.

CVIII. The firft year after the marriage of his daughter, Aftyages faw another vifion. A vine appeared to fpring from the womb of his daughter, which overfpread all Afia. Upon this occafion alfo he confulted his interpreters: the refult was, that he fent for his daughter from Perfia, when the time of her delivery approached. On her arrival, he kept a ftrict watch over her, intending to deftroy her child. The magi had declared the vifion to intimate, that the child of his daughter fhould fupplant him on his throne. Aftyages, to guard againft this, as foon as Cyrus was born, fent for Harpagus, a perfon whole intimacy he ufed, upon whole confidence he depended, and who indeed had the management of all his affairs. He addreffed him as follows: "Harpagus, I am about to ufe you in a bufinefs, in which if you either abufe my confidence, or employ others to do what I am anxious you fhould do yourfelf, you will infallibly lament the confequence. You muft take the boy of whom Mandane has been delivered, remove him to your own houfe, and put him to death: you will afterwards bury him as you fhall think proper." "Sir," he replied, "you have hitherto never had occafion to censure my conduct; neither fhall my future behaviour give you caufe of offence: if the accomplifhment of this matter be effential to your peace, it becomes me to be faithful and obedient."

CIX. On this reply of Harpagus the infant was delivered to his arms in rich apparel, and consigned to destruction. Returning home, he sought with tears the presence of his wife, to whom he related his conference with Aftyages. When she enquired what it was his intention to do; "By no means," he answered, "the deed which Aftyages enjoins. If he become still more infatuated, more mad than he at present appears, I will not comply with his desires, nor be accessary to this murder. The child is my relation; Aftyages is old, and has no male offspring: if, at his decease, the sovereign authority shall descend to this daughter, whose child he orders me to destroy, what extreme danger shall I not incur? It is expedient nevertheless, for my security, that the child should die, not however by the hands of any of my family, but by some other of his servants."

CX. He instantly sent for a herdsman belonging to Aftyages, who, as he knew, pursued his occupation in a place adapted to the purpose, amongst mountains frequented by savage beasts. His name was Mitridates; his wife and fellow-servant was, in the Greek tongue, called Cyno, by the Medes Spaco¹⁵¹; and Spaca is the name by which the

¹⁵¹ *Spaco.*]—It is not certain whether the dialect of the Medes and Persians was the same. In such remains as we have of the Persian language, Burton and Reland have not been able to discover any term like this. Nevertheless Lefevre assures us, that the Hyrcanians, a people in subjection to the Persians, call, even at the present time, a dog by the word Spac.—*Larcher.*

Medes call a bitch. The place which he frequented with his herds was the foot of those mountains which lay to the north of Ecbatane, near the Euxine. This part of Media, towards the Saspires, is high and mountainous, and abounding with forests; the rest of the country is a spacious plain. As soon as he arrived in his presence, Harpagus thus addressed him: "Astyages commands you to take this infant¹⁵⁴, and expose him in the most unfrequented part of the mountains, that his death may be speedy and unavoidable. I am farther ordered to assure you, that if you evade this injunction, and are by any means accessory to his preservation, you must expect torture and death. I am myself commanded to see the child exposed."

CXI. When the herdsman had received his orders, he took the child, and returned to his cottage. His wife, who had been in labour all the preceding part of the day, was providentially delivered in his absence. Both had been in a state of solicitude: the situation of his wife gave alarm to the husband; and the woman, on her part, feared for him, from the unusual circumstance of his being sent for to Harpagus. His return was sudden and unexpected,

¹⁵⁴ *Take this infant, &c.*—Various passages in this part of our work will necessarily bring to the mind of our reader the Winter's Tale of Shakspeare. The speech of the king to Antigonus minutely resembles this:

• Take it up straight.

Within this hour bring me word 'tis done,

And by good testimony, or I'll seize thy life, &c.—7.

and his wife discovered much anxiety to know why Harpagus had sent for him in such haste. "As soon," says he, "as I got into the city, I both saw and heard what I could wish had never befallen the families of our masters : I found the house of Harpagus in extreme affliction ; entering which with the greatest terror, I saw an infant panting and screaming on the ground, dressed in rich and splendid cloathing. Harpagus, the moment he saw me, commanded me to take the child, and, without any hesitation, expose it on such part of our mountains as is most frequented by wild beasts ; telling me, moreover, that Astyages himself had assigned this office to me, and threatening the severest punishment in case of disobedience. I took the child, conceiving it to belong to one of the domestics, never supposing who it really was. The richness, however, of its dress excited my astonishment, which was increased by the sorrow that prevailed in the family of Harpagus. But, on my return, the servant who, conducting me out of the city, gave the infant to my hand, explained each particular circumstance. He informed me, that it is the offspring of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, and of Cambyfes, son of Cyrus. This is the infant whose death Astyages commands."

CXII. The herdsman finished, and produced the child to his wife. Struck with his appearance of beauty and of strength, she embraced the knees of her husband, and conjured him not to expose the child. He observed, that it was impossible to
comply

comply with her request, as Harpagus would fend to fee that his orders were executed, and had menaced him with a moſt cruel death if he failed in his obedience. The woman not ſucceeding by this, took another method: “ Since,” ſhe replied, “ you are determined in your purpoſe, and there will be witneſſes to ſee that the child is in reality expoſed, attend to what I propoſe: I have been delivered of a dead child; let this be expoſed, and let us preſerve and bring up the grandchild of Aſtyages as our own. You will thus appear faithful to your ſuperiors, without any injury to ourſelves; the child which is dead will be honoured with a ſumptuous funeral, and that which ſurvives will be preſerved.”

CXIII. The man approved of the pertinent propoſal of his wife, with which he immediately complied. The infant, whom he was to have deſtroyed, he gave to the care of his wife: his own child, which was dead, he placed in the cradle in which the other had been brought, dreſſed it in the others coſtly cloathing, and expoſed it on a deſert mountain. After three days, he left one of his domeſtics to guard the body, and went again to the houſe of Harpagus in the city, ſignifying himſelf ready to ſhew that the child was dead. Harpagus ſent ſome upon whoſe fidelity he could depend, to examine into the matter: they confirmed the report of the herdsman, and the child was buried. The herdsman’s child was thus interred; the other, who was afterwards called Cyrus, was brought up carefully

by the wife of the herdsman, and called by some other name.

CXIV. When he arrived at the age of ten years, the following accident discovered who he was :— He was playing in the village, where were the herds of his supposed father, with other boys of the same age with himself. Though reputed to be the son of the herdsman, his play-mates chose him for their king. He, in consequence, assigned them their different stations : some were to superintend buildings, others were to be guards ; one was to be his principal minister, another his master of the ceremonies ; and each had his particular office. Among these children happened to be the son of Artembaris, who was a Mede of considerable distinction. He, refusing to obey the commands of Cyrus, was, at his orders, seized by his playfellows, and severely beaten. The pride of the boy was vehemently offended ; and the moment he was at liberty, he hastened to the city to inform his father how much he had suffered from the insolence of Cyrus. He did not indeed call him Cyrus, which was not then his name ; but he described him as the son of the herdsman of Astyages. Artembaris went immediately in great rage to Astyages, taking his son with him. He complained of the indignity which had been offered, and shewed what marks of violence his son had received. “ Thus, Sir,” says he, “ have we been insulted by the son of a herdsman, your slave.”

CXV. Astyages, on receiving this complaint, which he observed to be justly founded, was anxious to punish the insult which Artembaris had received; he accordingly sent for the herdsman and his reputed child. On their appearance, Astyages, looking at Cyrus, "Do you," says he, "meanly descended as you are, dare to inflict stripes on the son of one of my nobles?" "My lord," says he, in reply, "what I have done I am able to justify; the boys among whom I live, and this with the rest, did, in play, elect me their king, because, as I suppose, I seemed to them the most proper for this situation. Our other playfellows obeyed my commands; this boy refused, and was punished: if on this account you deem me worthy of chastisement, I am here to receive it ¹⁵⁵."

CXVI. As soon as the boy had spoken, Astyages conjectured who he was; every thing concurred to confirm his suspicions; his resemblance of himself, his ingenuous countenance and manners, and the seeming correspondence of his age. Struck by the force of these incidents, Astyages was a long time silent. He recovered himself with difficulty, and wishing to dismiss Artembaris, for the purpose of examining the herdsman without witnesses, "Artembaris," said he, "I will take care that neither you nor your son shall have just reason of complaint." When Artembaris retired, Cyrus was

¹⁵⁵ None of these particulars of the early life of Cyrus, previous to his being sent to his parents in Persia, are related by Xenophon.—T.

conducted by attendants into some inner room, and the herdsman being left alone with the king, was strictly interrogated whence and from whom he had the child. He replied, that he was his own child, and that his mother was yet alive; Aſtyages told him, that his indiscretion would only involve him in greater dangers. Saying this, he ordered his guards to ſeize him. Reduced to this extremity, he explained every particular of the buſineſs; and concluded with earneſt intreaties for mercy and forgiveness.

CXVII. Aſtyages, convinced that his herdsman had ſpoken the truth, felt but little with reſpect to him; but he was violently incenſed againſt Harpagus, whom he ſent for to his preſence. As ſoon as he appeared, “Harpagus,” ſaid he, “by what kind of death did you deſtroy the ſon of my daughter?” Harpagus ſaw the herdsman preſent, and was therefore conſcious, that unleſs he ſpoke the truth he ſhould be certainly detected. “Sir,” he replied, “as ſoon as I received the infant, I revolved in my mind the beſt method of ſatisfying your wiſhes, and of preſerving myſelf innocent of the crime of murder, both with reſpect to your daughter and yourſelf: I determined, therefore, to ſend for this herdsman, and delivering to him the child, I informed him that it was your command that he ſhould put him to death; in this I uſed no falſhood, for ſuch were your commands. I farther enjoined him to expoſe the infant on a deſert mountain, and to be himſelf the witneſs of his death, threatening him

him with the severest punishment in case of disobedience. When he had fulfilled his commission, and the child was dead, I sent some of my confidential eunuchs to witness the fact, and to bury the body. This, sir, is the real truth, and the child was thus destroyed."

CXVIII. Harpagus related the fact without prevarication; but Astyages, dissembling the anger which he really felt, informed him of the confession of the herdsman; and finished his narration in these words, "The child is alive, and all is well: I was much afflicted concerning the fate of the boy, and but ill could bear the reproaches of my daughter. But as the matter has turned out well, you must send your son to our young stranger, and attend me yourself at supper. I have determined, in gratitude for the child's preservation, to celebrate a festival in honour of those deities who interposed to save him."

CXIX. Harpagus, on hearing this, made his obeisance to the king, and returned cheerfully to his house, happy in the reflection that he was not only not punished for his disobedience, but honoured by an invitation to the royal festival. As soon as he arrived at his house, he hastily called for his only son, a boy of about thirteen, ordering him to hasten to the palace of Astyages, and to comply with whatever was commanded him. He then related to his wife, with much exultation, all that had happened. As soon as the boy arrived, Astyages
commanded

commanded him to be cut in pieces, and some part of his flesh to be roasted, another part boiled, and the whole made ready to be served at table. At the hour of supper, among other guests, Harpagus also attended. Before the rest, as well as before Astyages himself, dishes of mutton were placed, but to Harpagus all the body of his son was served, except the head and the extremities, which were kept apart in a covered basket. After he seemed well satisfied with what he had eaten, Astyages asked him how he liked his fare: Harpagus expressing himself greatly delighted, the attendants brought him the basket which contained the head and extremities of his child, and desired him to help himself to what he thought proper. Harpagus complied, uncovered the vessel, and beheld the remains of his son¹⁵⁶. He continued, however, master of himself, and discovered no unusual emotions. When Astyages enquired if he knew of what flesh and of what wild beast he had eaten, he acknowledged that he did, and that the king's will was always pleasing to him¹⁵⁷. Saying this, he took

¹⁵⁶ *The remains of his son.*]—A similar example of revenge occurs in *Titus Andronicus*.

Titus. Why, there they are, both baked in that pie,
Whereof their mother daintily hath fed;
Eating the flesh that she herself hath bred.—7.

For other instances of similar barbarity, see H. Stevens's *Apology for Herodotus*, chap. 19, de la Cruauté de notre Siècle.—7.

¹⁵⁷ *Pleasing to him.*]—This reply of Harpagus, worthy of a servile courtier, brings to mind one of an English nobleman no less despicable. Edgar, king of England, having killed Ethelwold,

took the remnants of the body, and returned to his house, meaning, as I should suppose, to bury them together.

CXX. Astyages thus revenged himself upon Harpagus ; but deliberating about the destiny of Cyrus, he sent for the magi who had before interpreted his dreams. On their appearance, he requested to know their sentiments of the vision he had formerly explained to them. They persevered in their former declaration, that if the boy survived he would infallibly be king. "The boy is alive and well," returned Astyages : "the children of the village where he lived elected him their king, and he has actually performed all the essential duties of the regal office. He appointed his guards, his messengers, and different attendants, and in all respects exercised kingly authority : concerning this, what do you determine?" "If," answered the magi, "the boy really survives, and has reigned as a monarch, in the accidental manner you describe, rely upon this, and dissipate your fears ; depend upon it he will reign no more : things of trifling moment frequently accomplish what we seriously foretel, and dreams in particular will often prove of little or no importance." "I confess," replied Astyages, "that would, in the forest of Harewood, the son of that nobleman arrived soon afterwards on the spot ; the king, shewing him the body of his father, asked him, how he found the game ? The young man replied with perfect indifference, "That whatever was agreeable to the prince, could not possibly displease him." The above anecdote is related by Larcher from William of Malmesbury.

I am of the same opinion; the boy having been nominally a king, has fulfilled the purport of my dream, and I need alarm myself no more about him. Do not you, however, remit your assiduity, but consult both for my security and your own."

"Sir," answered the magi, "it is of particular importance to us, that your authority should continue, it might otherwise descend to this boy, who is a Persian; in that case we, who are Medes, shall be reduced to servitude; the Persians would despise us as foreigners; but whilst you, who are our countryman, reign over us, we enjoy some degree of authority ourselves, independant of the honours we receive from you. For these reasons we are particularly bound to consult for your safety; and the permanence of your power. If any thing excited our apprehensions of the future, we would certainly disclose it: but as your dream has had this trifling termination, we feel great confidence ourselves, and recommend you to send the child from your presence to his parents in Persia.

CXXI. On hearing this Astyages was rejoiced; and sending for Cyrus, "My child," said he, "I was formerly induced, by the crude representation of a dream, to treat you injuriously; but your better genius preserved you. Go, therefore, in peace to Persia, whither I shall send proper persons to conduct you; there you will see your parents, who are of a very different rank from the herdsman Mitridates and his wife."

CXXII. Aſtyages having thus ſpoke, ſent Cyrus away; on his being reſtored to the houſe of his parents, they, who had long ſince thought him dead, received him with tenderneſs and tranſport. They enquired by what means he had been preſerved; he told them in reply, that he was entirely ignorant of his birth, and had been involved in much perplexity, but that every thing had been explained to him on his journey to them. He had really believed himſelf the ſon of the herdsman of Aſtyages, before his conductors explained to him the particulars of his fortune. He related with what tenderneſs he had been brought up by the wife of the herdsman, whole name, Cyno, he often repeated with the warmeſt praiſe. The circumſtance of her name his parents laid hold of to perſuade the Perſians that Providence had, in a particular manner, interpoſed to ſave Cyrus, who, when expoſed, had been preſerved and nourished by a bitch ¹⁵⁸—which opinion afterwards prevailed.

CXXIII. As Cyrus grew up, he excelled all the young men in ſtrength and gracefulness of perſon ¹⁵⁹. Harpagus, who was anxious to be revenged on Aſtyages, was conſtantly endeavouring to gain an intereſt with him, by making him preſents. In his own private ſituation, he could have but

¹⁵⁸ *By a bitch, &c.*]—The ſtory of Romulus, Remus, and the wolf, involves many circumſtances ſimilar to theſe related of Cyrus.—T.

¹⁵⁹ *Gracefulness of perſon.*]—The beauty and gracefulness of Cyrus, is particularly, and with much energy, repreſented by Xenophon.—T.

little hope of obtaining the vengeance he desired; but seeing Cyrus a man, and one whose fortunes bore some resemblance to his own, he much attached himself to him. He had, some time before, taken the following measure:—Astyages having treated the Medes with great asperity, Harpagus took care to communicate with the men of the greatest consequence among them, endeavouring, by his insinuations, to promote the elevation of Cyrus, and the deposition of his master. Having thus prepared the way, he contrived the following method of acquainting Cyrus in Persia with his own private sentiments, and the state of affairs. The communication betwixt the two countries being strictly guarded, he took a hare, opened its paunch, in which he inserted a letter, containing the information he wished to give, and then dextrously sewed it up again. The hare, with some hunting nets, he entrusted to one of his servants of the chase, upon whom he could depend. The man was sent into Persia, and ordered to deliver the hare to Cyrus himself, who was entreated to open it with his own hands, and without witnesses.

CXXIV. The man executed his commission; Cyrus received the hare, which having opened as directed, he found a letter to the following purport. “Son of Cambyfes, heaven evidently favours you, or you never could have risen thus superior to fortune. Astyages meditated your death, and is a just object of your vengeance; he certainly determined that you should perish; the gods and my
humanity

humanity preserved you. With the incidents of your life I believe you are acquainted, as well as with the injuries which I have received from Astyages, for delivering you to the herdsman, instead of putting you to death. Listen but to me, and the authority and dominions of Astyages shall be yours : having prevailed on the Persians to revolt, undertake an expedition against the Medes. If I shall be appointed by Astyages the leader of the forces which oppose you, our object will be instantly accomplished, which I may also venture to affirm of each of our first nobility ; they are already favourable to your cause, and wait but the opportunity of revolting from Astyages. All things being thus prepared, execute what I advise without delay."

CXXV. Cyrus, on receiving this intelligence, revolved in his mind what would be the most effectual means of prevailing on the Persians to revolt. After much deliberation, he determined on the following stratagem : He dictated the terms of a public letter, and called an assembly of his countrymen. Here it was produced and read, and it appeared to contain his appointment by Astyages to be general of the Persians : " And now, oh Persians," he exclaimed, " I must expect each of you to attend me with an hatchet." This command he issued aloud to the Persians, of whom there are various tribes. Of those whom Cyrus assembled, and persuaded to revolt from the Medes, the following are the principal : The Arteatae, the Persae, Pafargadae,

gadæ, Maraphii, and Maspian: Of these the Pargadæ are the most considerable; the Achæmenidæ are those from whom the Persian monarchs are descended. The Panthialæi, Derusiæi, and Germanians¹⁵⁰, follow laborious employments; the Dai, Mardi, Dropici, and Sagartians, are feeders of cattle.

CXXVI. They all assembled in the manner they were commanded, and Cyrus directed them to clear, in the space of a day, a certain woody enclosure, which was eighteen or twenty furlongs in extent. When they had executed their task, they were desired to attend the following day to feast and make merry. For this purpose Cyrus collected and slew all the goats, sheep, and oxen, which were the property of his father; and further to promote the entertainment of the Persians he added rich wines and abundance of delicacies. The next day, when they were met, he desired them to recline on the grass and enjoy themselves. When they were satisfied, he enquired of them which day's fare delighted them the most: They replied, the contrast betwixt the two was strong indeed, as on the first day they had nothing but what was bad, on the second every thing that was good. On

¹⁵⁰ *Germanians.*]—The Germanians are the same as the Caramanians. Some authors affirm the ancient Germans to have been descended from this people. Clavier has with much politeness explained their mistake. "But," adds M. Wesseling, "there are some individuals of such wayward tempers, who, since the discovery of corn, still prefer the feeding upon acorns,"—*Larcher.*

receiving this answer, Cyrus no longer hesitated to explain the purpose which he had in view : " Men of Persia," he exclaimed, " you are the arbiters of your own fortune ; if you obey me, you will enjoy these and greater advantages, without any servile toils : if you are hostile to my projects, you must prepare to encounter worse hardships than those of yesterday. My voice is the voice of freedom ; Providence appears to have reserved me to be the instrument of your prosperity ; you are, doubtless, equal to the Medes in every thing, and most assuredly are as brave : this being the case, decline all future obedience to Astyages."

CXXVII. The Persians, who had long spurned at the yoke imposed on them by the Medes, were glad of such a leader, and ardently obeyed the call of liberty. Astyages was soon informed of the proceedings of Cyrus, and commanded his attendance. He returned for answer, that he should probably anticipate the wish of Astyages to see him. Astyages upon this collected his Medes, and, urged by some fatal impulse, appointed Harpagus to command his forces, not remembering the injury he formerly had done him. His army was embodied, the Medes met and engaged the Persians ; they who were not privy to the plot fought with valour, the rest went over to the Persians ; the greater part discovered no inclination to continue the combat, and hastily retreated.

CXXVIII. Astyages hearing of the ignominious
K 2 defeat

defeat of his army, continued to menace Cyrus; and exclaimed, that he should still have no reason to exult. The first thing he did was to crucify the magi¹⁶¹, the interpreters of dreams, who had prevailed upon him to send Cyrus away. He then armed all his citizens, young and old, without distinction. He led them against the Persians, and was vanquished¹⁶²: he himself was taken prisoner, and the greater part of his army destroyed.

CXXIX. In his captivity Harpagus was present to insult and reproach him. Among other things, he asked him what was his opinion of that supper, in which he had compelled a father to feed on the flesh of his child, a supper which had reduced him from a monarch to a slave. In reply, Astyages requested to know if he imputed to himself the success of Cyrus? He confessed that he did, explained the means, and justified his conduct. Astyages told him, that he was then the most foolish and wicked of mankind;—most foolish, in acquiring for another the authority he might have enjoyed himself; most wicked, for reducing his countrymen to servitude, to gratify his private re-

¹⁶¹ *Crucify the magi.*]—It appears from the sacred writings, that when the magi either were not able to interpret dreams or explain difficulties to the satisfaction of their tyrant masters, they were with little compunction condemned to die. See in particular the book of Daniel. The cruelty of Astyages is spoken of by Diodorus Siculus, in his book *de virtutibus & vitiis*.—7.

¹⁶² *Was vanquished.*]—Xenophon represents Cyrus as succeeding of course, and without any hostilities, to the throne of Astyages.—7.

venge. If he thought a change in the government really necessary, and was still determined not to assume the supreme authority himself, justice should have induced him to have elevated a Mede to that honour, rather than a Persian. The Medes, who were certainly not accessory to the provocation given, had exchanged situations with their servants; the Persians, who were formerly the servants, were now the masters.

CXXX. After a reign of thirty-five years, Astyages was thus deposed. To his asperity of temper the Medes owed the loss of their power, after possessing, for the space of one hundred and twenty-eight years, all that part of Asia which lies beyond the Halys, deducting from this period the short interval of the Scythian dominion. In succeeding times, from a disdain of their abased situation, they took up arms against Darius; their attempt proved unsuccessful, and they were a second time reduced to servitude. From this period the Persians, who, under the conduct of Cyrus, had shaken off the power of the Medes, remained in undisturbed possession of Asia. Cyrus detained Astyages in captivity for the remainder of his life, but in no other instance ¹⁶³ treated him with severity.—Such is the history of the birth, education, and success of Cyrus. He afterwards, as we have before related, subdued

¹⁶³ *But in no other instance, &c.*—Isocrates, in his funeral oration upon Evagoras, king of Salamis, in Cyprus, says, that Cyrus put Astyages to death. I do not find that this fact has been asserted by any other author.—*Larcher.*

Cræsus, who had attacked him unprovoked; from which time he remained without competition sovereign of Asia.

CXXXI. My attention to the subject has enabled me to make the following observations on the manners and customs of the Persians. They have among them neither statues¹⁶⁴, temples¹⁶⁵, nor altars¹⁶⁶; the use of which they censure as impious, and a gross violation of reason, probably because, in opposition to the Greeks, they do not believe that the gods partake of our human nature¹⁶⁷.

¹⁶⁴ *Neither statues.*]—It is proper to remark here, that the more ancient nations were not worshippers of images. Lucian tells us, that the ancient Egyptians had no statues in their temples. According to Eusebius, the Greeks were not worshippers of images before the time of Cecrops, who first of all erected a statue to Minerva. And Plutarch tells us, that Numa forbade the Romans to represent the deity under the form of a man or an animal; and for seventy years this people had not in their temples any statue or painting of the deity.—*Larcher.*

¹⁶⁵ *Temples.*]—I am not of opinion with the Persian magi, at whose instigation Xerxes burned the temples of the Greeks, because they confined their deities by walls, who ought to be free from every kind of restraint, and whose temple and residence was the universe itself.—*Cicero.*

¹⁶⁶ *Nor altars.*]—The theology of Zoroaster was darkly comprehended by foreigners, and even by the far greater number of his disciples; but the most careless observers were struck with the philosophic simplicity of the Persian worship.—*Gibbon.*

¹⁶⁷ *Human nature.*]—That the gods often appeared in a human shape, is taken for granted by Pausanius, in *Arcad.* and Plutarch in *Musica.* The same opinion was firmly maintained by Julian, an orthodox pagan in a later age.—*Gillies.*

Their custom is, to offer, from the summits of the highest mountains ¹⁶⁸, sacrifices to Jove, distinguishing by that appellation all the expanse of the firmament. They also adore the sun ¹⁶⁹, the moon, earth, fire ¹⁷⁰, water, and the winds; which may be termed their original deities. In after-times, from the example of the Assyrians and Arabians, they added Urania* to this number. The name of the Assyrian Venus is Mylitta, whom the Arabians call Alitta, and the Persians Mithra.

CXXXII. Their mode of paying their devotions

¹⁶⁸ *Summits of the highest mountains.*]—Van Dale remarks, that the oracular temples were, for the most part, situated in mountainous places. The scriptures also intimate, that mountains and high places were chosen as the properest theatres for the display of religious enthusiasm. See Deuteronomy, chap. xii. ver. 2. 3. Ye shall utterly destroy the places wherein the nations served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree, &c. &c.—*T.*

¹⁶⁹ *Sun—fire.*]—The worship of the ancient Persians had unquestionably been very early corrupted. The reverence paid to the sun and to fire, which Zoroaster appears to have considered merely as representatives of omnipotence, the fountain of light, seems to have been an idea too refined for the gross capacities of the vulgar, who, without regard to the great invisible prototype, turned all their thoughts to the adoration of those ostensible deities.—*Richardson.*

¹⁷⁰ *Fire.*]—The ancient Persians durst not, by their religion, extinguish fire with water; but endeavoured to smother it with earth, stones, or any thing similar. This method would not soon extinguish a blazing forest. The Parfis of Guzerat are still guided by the same hurtful superstition.—*The same.*

* *Urania.*]—That is, the Uranian or celestial Venus, not the muse Urania.—*T.*

to the above-mentioned deities, confirmed by un-deviating custom, is to sacrifice to them without altars or fire, libations or instrumental music, garlands or consecrated cakes; but every individual, as he wishes to sacrifice to any particular divinity, conducts his victim to a place made clean for the purpose, and makes his invocation or his prayers with a tiara encircled generally with myrtle. The suppliant is not permitted to implore blessings on himself alone¹⁷¹, his whole nation, and particularly his sovereign; have a claim to his prayers, himself being necessarily comprehended with the rest. He proceeds to divide his victim¹⁷² into several minute parts, which, when boiled, he places upon the most delicate verdure he can find, giving the preference to trefoil. When things are thus prepared, one of the magi, without whose presence no sacrifice is deemed lawful, stands up and chants the primæval origin of the gods, which they suppose to have a sacred and mysterious influence. The wor-

¹⁷¹ *Not permitted to implore blessings on himself alone.*—This noble sentiment is thus beautifully expressed by Pope:

God loves from whole to parts, but human soul
Must rise from individuals to the whole;
Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;
'The centre mov'd, a circle straight succeeds,
Another still, and still another spreads;
Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace,
His country next, and next all human race.

Pope's Essays.

¹⁷² *Divide his victim.*—The ceremony of the Persian sacrifice is related at length, but with some trifling variations, by Strabo.—7.

shipper

shipper after this takes with him, for his own use, such parts of the flesh as he thinks proper.

CXXXIII. Among all their festivals each individual pays particular regard to his birth-day, when they indulge themselves with better¹⁷³ fare than usual. The more rich among them prepare on this day an ox, a horse, a camel, or an afs, which are roasted whole; the poorer sort are satisfied with a lamb or a sheep: they eat but sparingly of meat, but are fond of the after dishes, which are separately introduced. From hence the Persians take occasion to say, that the Grecians do not leave their tables satisfied, having nothing good to induce them to continue there—if they had they would eat more. Of wine¹⁷³ they drink profusely: they may neither vomit nor make water before any one; which customs they still observe. They are accustomed to deliberate on matters of the highest moment when warm with wine; but whatever they in this situation may determine is again proposed to them on the morrow, in their cooler moments, by the person in whose house they had before assembled. If at this time also it meet their approbation, it is executed, otherwise it is rejected. Whatever, also,

¹⁷³ *Of wine, &c.*]—In every age the Persians have been addicted to intemperance; and the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the law of Mahomet.—*Gibbon*. In contradiction to the above observation, it appears from Xenophon, that the Persians, in the earlier period of their history, were a temperate and sober people. But that, in the time of Herodotus, they drank profusely, is confirmed by Plato.—7.

they discuss when sober, is always a second time examined after they have been drinking.

CXXXIV. If they meet at any time by accident, the rank of each party is easily discovered: if they are of equal dignity, they salute each other on the mouth; if one is an inferior, they only kiss the cheek; if there be a great difference in situation, the inferior falls prostrate on the ground¹⁷⁴. They treat with most respect those who live nearest to them; as they become more and more remote, their esteem of each other diminishes; for those who live very distant from them they entertain not the smallest regard: esteeming themselves the most excellent of mankind, they think that the value of others must diminish in proportion to their distance. During the empire of the Medes, there was a regular gradation of authority; the Medes governed all as well as their neighbours, but these also were superior to those contiguous to them, who again held the next nation in subjection; which example the Persians

¹⁷⁴ *Falls prostrate on the ground.*]—Our countryman Sandys observes, that the modern mode of salutation betwixt equals in the East, is by laying the right hand on the bosom, and gently declining the body; but when a person of great rank is saluted, they bow to the ground, and kiss the hem of his garment. Upon this subject consult also Pocock and Shaw. The Syro-Phœnician woman fell at the feet of Jesus. Quintus Curtius relates of Alexander the Great, that when he returned from the conquest of Asia, he disdained the manners of his country, and suffered those who approached his person to lie prostrate on the ground before him.—T.

followed

followed when their dominions became extended, and their authority encreased,

CXXXV. The Persians are of all men most inclined to adopt foreign manners: thinking the dress of the Medes more becoming than their own, they wear it in preference. They use also, in their armies, the Ægyptian breast-plate: they discover an ardour for all pleasures of which they have heard; a passion for boys ¹⁷⁵ they learned from the Greeks, and each man has many wives, but many more concubines.

¹⁷⁵ *Passion for boys.*]—How, says Plutarch, in his discourse on the malignity of Herodotus, could the Persians possibly have learned this vice of the Greeks? It is universally acknowledged that the custom of castrating young men was common amongst the Persians, long before they visited the coasts of Greece.

Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture, has been at some pains to prove, that in all probability the plain upon which the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah stood, was somewhere in the south of Persia.

That this vice was of very great antiquity in Greece, appears from a passage of Phanocles, preserved in Stobæus, which informs us, that the Thracian women put Orpheus to death, on account of his unnatural passion for a young man of the name of Calais.

Ille etiam Thracum populis fuit auctor, amorem
In teneros transferre mares, citraque juventam
Ætatis breve ver, et primos carpere flores.

Ovid. Met. x. 83.

But the total silence of Homer may perhaps furnish a reasonable presumption against the antiquity of this detestable vice.—7.

CXXXVI. Next to valour in the field, a man is esteemed in proportion to the number of his offspring¹⁷⁶; to him who has the greater number of children, the king every year sends presents; their national strength depending, as they suppose, on their numbers. From their fifth¹⁷⁷ to their twentieth year they instruct their children in three things only, the art of the bow, horsemanship¹⁷⁸, and a strict regard to truth. Till his fifth year a boy is kept in the female apartments, and not per-

¹⁷⁶ *Number of his offspring.*]—A numerous posterity is, at the present day, the most fervent wish of the female inhabitants of Ægypt. Public respect is annexed to fruitfulness. This is even the prayer of the poor, who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow.—*Savary.*

Without any exaggeration, all the women of my acquaintance have twelve or thirteen children; and the old ones boast of having had five-and-twenty or thirty a-piece, and are respected according to the number they have produced.—*Letters of Lady M. W. Montague from Constantinople.*

Sterility is a reproach among the Orientals, and they still retain for fecundity all the esteem of ancient times.—*Volney.*

The same commendation of fertility seems to be implied in scripture, Judges, xii. 14, by the enumeration of Abdon's sons and grandsons.—*T.*

¹⁷⁷ *From their fifth, &c.*]—This account of Persian education differs from that given by Xenophon.

¹⁷⁸ *Horsemanship.*]—This, in the time of Cyrus, did not constitute a part of Persian education. The Persians, at that period, inhabiting a country mountainous, and without pasturage, could not breed horses; but as soon as they had conquered a country suitable to this purpose, they learned the art of horsemanship; and Cyrus made it be considered as a disgraceful thing, that any person to whom he had presented a horse should go any where on foot, even to the smallest distance.—*Larcher.*

mitted to see his father: the motive of which is, that if the child die before this period, his death may give no uneasiness to the father.

CXXXVII. This custom appears commendable: I cannot but think highly of that custom also, which does not allow even the sovereign to put any one to death for a single offence; neither from any one provocation is a Persian permitted to exercise extreme severity in his family. Severity is there only lawful, when, after careful examination, the offences are found to exceed the merits. They will not believe that any one ever killed his parent; when such accidents have apparently happened, they assert their belief, that the child would, on enquiry, be found either to have been the produce of adultery, or spurious; conceiving it altogether impossible, that any real parent can be killed by his own offspring.

CXXXVIII. Whatever they may not act with impunity, they cannot mention without guilt. They hold falshood in the greatest abhorrence¹⁷⁹; next to which they esteem it disgraceful to be in debt, as well for other reasons, as for the temptations to falshood¹⁸⁰, which they think it necessarily intro-

¹⁷⁹ *Falshood in the greatest abhorrence.*]—The Persians were not always so scrupulous about falshood; see Herodotus, Book iii. and lxxii.—*Larcher.*

¹⁸⁰ *Temptations to falshood.*]—Plutarch, in his treatise concerning the contraction of debts, represents this differently. The Persians, says he, esteem falshood as a secondary crime, the first is running in debt.—*T.*

duces. A leprous ¹⁸¹ Persian must neither enter the city, nor have communication with any of his countrymen; this disease they always think occasioned by some offence committed against the sun ¹⁸². If a foreigner is afflicted with it, he is tumultuously expelled the country. They have also, for the same reason, an aversion to white pigeons. To all rivers ¹⁸³ they pay extreme veneration; they will neither spit, wash their hands, nor evacuate in any of them; and a violation of this custom may not happen with impunity.

CXXXIX. They have one peculiarity, which,

¹⁸¹ *A leprous, &c.*]—Persons afflicted with leprosy are still kept secluded in many places of the East. See Niebuhr's description of Arabia.

See the Mosaic prohibition concerning lepers, Numbers, chap. v. ver. 4.—*T.*

¹⁸² *Against the sun.*]—When Æschines touched at Delos, on his way to Rhodes, the inhabitants of that island were greatly incommoded by a species of leprosy, called the white leprosy. They imputed it to the anger of Apollo, because, in contradiction to the custom of the place, they had interred there the body of a man of rank.—*Larcher.*

¹⁸³ *To all rivers.*]—The ancient Cuthites, and the Persians after them, had a great veneration for fountains and streams, which also prevailed among other nations, so as to have been at one time almost universal. If these rivers were attended with any nitrous or saline quality, or with any fiery eruption, they were adjudged to be still more sacred.—*Bryant.*

What boots you now Scamander's worshipp'd stream,

His earthly honours, and immortal name?

In vain your immolated bulls are slain,

Your living coursers glut his gulphs in vain.

Pope, Il. xxi.

though

though they are not aware of it themselves, is notorious to us ; all those words which are expressive of personal or of any other distinction, terminate in the Doric *fan*, which is the same with the Ionian *figma* : and attentive observation will farther discover, that all the names of Persians ¹⁸⁴ end without exception alike.

CXL. The above remarks are delivered without hesitation, as being the result of my own positive knowledge. They have other customs, concerning which, as they are of a secret nature, I will not pretend to express myself decisively : as to what relates to their dead, I will not affirm it to be true, that these never are interred till some bird or dog has discovered a propensity to prey on them. This, however, is unquestionably certain of the magi, who publicly observe this custom. The Persians first enclose the dead body in wax ¹⁸⁵, and afterwards
place

¹⁸⁴ *Names of Persians.*]—The language spoken anciently in Persia, opens a wide field for unsatisfactory enquiry. Dr. Hyde derives it from that of Media ; which is much the same as deducing one jargon of the Saxon heptarchy from another. The union of those people named by Europeans the Medes and Persians, is of such high antiquity, that it is lost in darkness, and long precedes every glimmering we can discover of the origin of their speech.—*Richardson on Eastern Nations.*

¹⁸⁵ *In wax.*]—Bodies thus enclosed continue perfect for ages. Some gentlemen of the society of antiquaries being desirous to see how far the actual state of Edward the First's body answered to the methods taken to preserve it, by writs issued from time to time, in the reigns of Edward the Third and Henry the Fourth, to the treasury, *to remove the wax about it*, obtained
permission

place it in the ground. Their magi are a distinct body of men, having many peculiarities, which distinguish them from others, and from the Ægyptian priests in particular. These last think it essential to their sanctity, to destroy no animals but the victims of sacrifice. The magi except a man and a dog, but put other animals without compunction to death. They even think it an action highly meritorious to destroy serpents, ants¹⁸⁶, and the different species of reptiles. After this digression, I return to my former subject.

CXLI.

permission to inspect it. It was found entire, May 2d 1774. The body must have been preserved above three centuries and a half, in the state in which it was then found.—*Annual Register* 1774.

The magi, for a long time, retained the exclusive privilege of having their bodies left as a prey to carnivorous animals. In succeeding times, the Persians abandoned all corpses indiscriminately, to birds and beasts of prey.

This custom still in part continues; the place of burial of the Guebres, at the distance of half a league from Ispahan, is a round tower made of free-stone: it is thirty-five feet in height, and ninety in diameter, without gate or any kind of entrance; they ascend it by a ladder. In the midst of the tower is a kind of trench, into which the bones are thrown. The bodies are ranged along the wall in their proper cloaths, upon a small couch, with bottles of wine, &c. The ravens, which fill the cemetery, devour them.—*Chardin*.

¹⁸⁶ *Serpents, ants, &c.*]—This, says Larcher, is a precept of the Sadder. The learned Dr. Hyde considers the Sadder as fragments of the works of Zoroaster, the great Persian legislator. Upon this subject it may not be amiss to introduce the opinion of Mr. Richardson. The Sadder, says he, are the wretched rhymes of a modern Parsi destour [priest] who lived about three centuries ago. From this work, therefore, we cannot

CXLI. The Ionians and Æolians, after the conquest of Lydia by the Persians, immediately dispatched ambassadors to Sardis, requesting Cyrus to receive them under his allegiance, upon the terms which Crœsus formerly had granted them. Cyrus gave them audience, and made them the following reply: "A certain piper, observing some fishes sporting in the sea, began to play to them, in hopes that they would voluntarily throw themselves on shore; disappointed in his expectations, he threw his nets, enclosed a great number, and brought them to land; seeing them leap about, "You may be quiet now," says he, "as you refused to come out to me when I played to you."—Cyrus was induced to return this answer to the Ionians and Æolians, because the Ionians had formerly disregarded his solicitations to withdraw their assistance from Crœsus, refusing all submission to Cyrus, till they were compelled by necessity to make it. This reply, therefore, of Cyrus was evidently dictated by resentment; which, as soon as the Ionians had received, they fortified their towns, and assembled all of them at Panionium, except the Milesians: Cyrus had received these into his alliance, upon the conditions which they had formerly enjoyed from Crœsus. The general determination of the Ionians, was to send ambassadors to Sparta,

cannot have even the glimpse of an original tongue, nor any thing authentic of the genius of the law-giver.—7.

Chardin informs us, that the Guebres, or ancient fire-worshippers of Persia, deem it meritorious to put insects of all kinds to death.—7.

who were in their common name to supplicate assistance.

CXLII. These Ionians, who are members of the Panionium; enjoy beyond all whom I have known purity of air¹⁸⁷ and beauty of situation; the country above and below them, as well as those parts which lie to the east and west, being in every respect less agreeable. Some of them are both cold and moist; others parched by the extremity of the heat. Their language possesses four several distinctions. Miletus¹⁸⁸ is their first city towards the south, next to which are Myus and Priene; all these are situate in Caria, and use the same language. In Lydia are the cities of Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa, which have a dialect peculiar to themselves. There are three other cities properly called Ionian; two of these, Samos and Chios, are situated in islands; the other, Erythræ, is on the continent. The Chians and Erythræans speak alike; the Samian tongue is materially different.

¹⁸⁷ *Purity of air.*]—These advantages of situation, and of climate, which the Ionians enjoyed, are enumerated by many ancient writers. This people, unable to defend themselves (says the Abbe Barthelemy) against the Persians, consoled themselves for the loss of their liberties in the bosom of voluptuousness and the cultivation of the arts.—T.

¹⁸⁸ *Miletus, &c.*]—For a particular account of the modern names and circumstances of these Ionian cities, consult Chandler and Pocock.

Miletus was the birth-place of Thales, Clazomenæ of Anaxagoras, Ephesus of Parrhasius, Colophon of Xenophanes, Teos of Anacreon.—T.

These are the four discriminations of language to which we alluded.

CXLIII. Of these Ionians, the Milesians were induced to court the friendship of Cyrus, from apprehensions of his power. The islanders had but little cause of fear, for the Persians had not yet subdued the Phoenicians, and were themselves ignorant of maritime affairs. The general imbecility of Greece, and the small importance of the Ionians in particular, was their motive for separating themselves from the body of that nation of which they constituted a part; Athens, of all the Grecian cities, being the only one of any distinction. The appellation of Ionians was for this reason disdained by the Athenians, and some other Ionians, which prejudice does not yet appear to be obliterated. In opposition to this, the above twelve cities are proud of the name, and have in consequence erected a sacred edifice, which they call the Panionium¹³⁹. They determined to admit no other of the Ionian

¹³⁹ *Panionium*.]—About sixteen miles to the south of Scala Nuova there is a Christian village called Changlee. It is supposed to be the ancient Panionium, where the meeting of the twelve cities of Ionia was held, and a solemn sacrifice performed to Neptune Heliconius, in which the people of Priene presided.—*Pocock*.

The victim sacrificed in this temple was a bull; and it was deemed an auspicious omen if he lowed whilst they were conducting him to the place of sacrifice.

This is alluded to in Homer:

Not louder roars,

At Neptune's shrine on Helicé's high shores,

The victim bull.—*Iliad* xx. 7.

cities to this temple, and the privilege was desired by those of Smyrna alone.

CXLIV. The Dorians now inhabiting Pentapolis, which was formerly called Hexapolis, instituted a similar exemption; not admitting the neighbouring Dorians, nor indeed some of their own people, who had violated a sacred and established custom, to the temple of Triope¹²⁰. The prize of these games, which were celebrated in honour of the Triopian Apollo, was formerly a tripod of brass, which the victor was not expected to carry away¹²¹, but to leave as a votive offering in the temple of the deity. A man of Halicarnassus¹²², whose name was

¹²⁰ *Temple of Triope.*—Triopium was a city of Caria, founded by Triopas, son of Erysiethon. Hence the Triopean promontory took its name, where was a temple known under the name of the Triopean temple, consecrated to Apollo. The Dorians here celebrated games in honour of that god, but without joining with him Neptune and the nymphs.

In this temple was held a general assembly of the Dorians of Asia, upon the model of that of Thermopylæ.—*Larcher.*

¹²¹ *Was not expected to carry away.*]—In the games in honour of Apollo and Bacchus, the victor was not permitted to carry the prize away with him. It remained in the temple of the deity, with an inscription signifying the names of the persons at whose cost the games were celebrated, with that of the victorious tribe.—*Larcher.*

¹²² *Halicarnassus.*]—The sincerity of Herodotus is eminently conspicuous from the faithful manner in which he relates circumstances but little honourable either for Halicarnassus, his country, or even for the Athenians, who had expressed themselves anxious to receive him into the number of their citizens, and before whom he had publicly recited his history. See also chap. cxlvii. of

was Agasicles, having obtained the victory, in violation of this custom carried the tripod to his own house, where it was openly suspended. In punishment of this offence, Halicarnassus was excluded from the participation of their religious ceremonies, by the five cities of Lindus, Jalyssus, Camirus, Cos¹⁹³, and Cnidus¹⁹⁴.

CXLV. It appears to me, that the Ionians divided themselves into twelve states, and were unwilling to connect themselves with more, simply because in Peloponnesus they were originally so circumstanced as are the Achæans at present, by whom the Ionians were expelled. The first of these is Pellene near Sicyon, then Ægira and Ægæ, through which the Crathis flows with a never-failing stream, giving its name to a well-known river of Italy. Next to these is Bura, then Helice, to which place the

of this book; as also different passages in the 3d, 5th, and 7th books.—*Boubier*.

¹⁹³ *Cos.*]—Cos was the birth-place of Hippocrates.—*T.*

¹⁹⁴ *Cnidus.*]—Cnidus was celebrated for being the birth-place of the historian Ctesias, and of the astronomer Eudoxus, and no less so from being possessed of the beautiful Venus of Praxiteles.—*T.*

The medals struck at Cnidus in the times of the Roman emperors, represent, as may be presumed, the Venus of Praxiteles. The goddess with her right hand conceals her sex, with her left she holds some linen over a vessel of perfumes.—*Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*.

It is perhaps not unworthy of remark, that the celebrated Venus de Medicis conceals with her left hand the distinction of her sex, whilst her right is elevated to her bosom.—*T.*

Ionians fled after being vanquished in battle by the Achæans. Next follow Ægium¹⁹⁵, Rhypæ, Patræ, Pharæ, and Olenus, which is watered by Pirus, a considerable river. The last are Dyme, and Tritæa, the only inland city.

CXLVI. These are the twelve states of the Achæans, to which the Ionians formerly belonged, who, for this reason, constructed an equal number of cities in the country which they afterwards inhabited. That these are more properly Ionians than the rest, it would be absurd to assert or to imagine. It is certain that the Abantes¹⁹⁶ of Eubœa, who have neither name nor any thing else in common with Ionia, form a considerable part of them. They are, moreover, mixed with the Minyan-

¹⁹⁵ *Ægium.*]—The inhabitants of this place having vanquished the Ætolians in a naval fight, and taken from them a vessel of fifty oars, they made an offering of the tenth part to the temple of Delphi, at the same time they demanded of the god, who were the bravest of the Greeks? The Pythian answered thus: “The best cavalry are those of Thessaly; the loveliest women are those of Sparta; they who drink the water of the fair fountain of Arethuse are valiant; but the Argives, who inhabit betwixt Terinthus and Arcadia, abounding in flocks, are more so.—As for you, oh, Ægians! you are neither the third, nor the fourth, nor even the twelfth; you inspire no respect, nor are of the smallest importance.”—*Larcher.*

¹⁹⁶ *Abantes.*]—This people cut off their hair before, and suffered it to grow behind; being a valiant race, they did this to prevent the enemy, whom they always boldly fronted, seizing them by the hair. For the same reason Alexander the Great ordered his generals to make the troops cut off their hair.—*Larcher.*

Orchorpenians,

Orchomenians, the Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocians, Molossians, the Pelasgians of Arcadia, the Dorians of Epidaurus, and various other nations. Even those who migrating from the Prytaneum¹⁹⁷ of Athens esteem themselves the most noble of all the Ionians, on their first settling in the country, brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women, whose parents they put to death. In consequence of this violence, the women made a compact amongst themselves, which they delivered to their daughters, never to sit at meals with their husbands, nor to call them by their appropriate names; which resolution was provoked by the murder of their parents, their husbands, and their children, and by their being afterwards compelled to marry the assassins.—The above happened at Miletus.

CXLVII. Of those chosen by these Ionians for their kings, some were Lydians, descended of

¹⁹⁷ *Prytaneum*.]—The Prytaneum was the senate-house of Athens. After the senators were elected, presiding officers were appointed, who were called Prytanes. There were fifty of these, and they resided constantly in the Prytaneum, that they might be ready, says Potter, to give audience to whoever had any thing to propose concerning the commonwealth. In the same place also resided other citizens who had rendered important services to their country. The Prytaneum was sacred to Vesta; it was not appropriate to Athens: mention is made of the Prytaneum of Siphros, of Cyzicum, of Syracuse, and of many other places.—*q.*

Glaucus ¹⁰⁸, the son of Hippolochus, and others, Caucon-Pylans, of the race of Codrus, son of Melanthus. Of their Ionian name these were more tenacious than the rest of their countrymen; they are without question true and genuine Ionians: but this name may, in fact, be applied to all those of Athenian origin, who celebrate the Apaturian festival ¹⁰⁹; from which it is to be observed, that the Ephesians and Colophonians are alone excluded, who had been guilty of the crime of murder.

¹⁰⁸ *Glaucus.*]—This is the Glaucus who relates his genealogy to Diomed in the sixth book of the *Iliad*.

Hippolochus surviv'd; from him I came,
The honour'd author of my birth and name;
By his decree I fought the Trojan town, &c.—*Pope*.

Invidious as it may appear, we cannot help remarking, that the whole version of this episode is comparatively defective in spirit and in melody.—*T*.

¹⁰⁹ *Apaturian festival.*]—This was first instituted at Athens, and thence derived to the rest of the Ionians, Colophon and Ephesus alone excepted. It continued three days: the first was called Dorpia, from Dorpos, a supper; on the evening of this day each tribe had a separate meeting, at which a sumptuous entertainment was prepared. The second day was named Anarrusis. Victims were offered to Jupiter and to Minerva, in whose sacrifices, as in all that were offered to the celestial gods, it was usual to turn the head of the victims upwards towards heaven. The third day was called Koureotis, from Kouros, a youth, or Koura, shaving. The young men who presented themselves to be inrolled amongst the citizens had then their hair cut off. At this time their fathers were obliged to swear, that both themselves and the mothers of the young men were free-born Athenians. For farther particulars on this subject, consult archbishop Potter's *Antiquities of Greece*.—*T*.

CXLVIII. Panionium is a sacred place²⁰⁰ on Mycale, situate towards the north, which by the universal consent of the Ionians is consecrated to the Heliconian Neptune²⁰¹. Mycale is a promontory, projecting itself westward towards Samos. Upon this mountain the Ionians assemble from their different cities, to celebrate the Panionia. Not only the proper names of these religious ceremonies, but those of all the other Greeks, terminate, like the Persian proper names, in the same letter.

CXLIX. The above are the cities of Ionia. Those of Æolia are Cyme, sometimes called Phryconis, Larissæ, Neontichus, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Ægæa, Myrina, and Grynia; these

²⁰⁰ *Sacred place.*]—Ampelus and Omphalus were the same term originally, however varied afterwards, and differently appropriated. They are each a compound from Omphe, and relate to the oracular deity. Ampelus, at Mycale in Ionia, was confessedly so denominated, from its being a sacred place, and abounding with waters, by which people who drank them were supposed to be inspired.—*Bryant.*

²⁰¹ *Heliconian Neptune.*]—The Ionians had a great veneration for Neptune; they had erected to him a temple at Helice, a city of Achaia, when that country belonged to them. From this place the deity took his name of Heliconius. Homer calls him Heliconian king. The Ionians giving place to the Achæans, carried with them to Athens, where they took refuge, the worship of Neptune: afterwards fixing in Asia, they constructed, in honour of this divinity, a temple, on the model of that at Helice. This temple was in the territories of Priene, to which place he who presided at the sacrifices was obliged to belong, its inhabitants giving out that they came from Helice.—*Larcher.*

were the original cities of *Æolia*. They were formerly twelve in number on the continent; but *Smyrna*, which was one of them, the *Ionians* divided from them. The country possessed by the *Æolians* is in itself more excellent than *Ionia*, though much inferior in the temperature of the air.

CL. The loss of *Smyrna* was occasioned by the following incident. Some inhabitants of *Colophon*, who had raised a sedition, and had been driven from their country, were received into *Smyrna*. They watched their opportunity, and whilst the citizens were engaged in celebrating the rites of *Bacchus* without the town, they secured the gates, and took possession of the place. All the *Æolians* assembled for its relief: they afterwards came to terms, and it was agreed that the *Ionians* should retain the city, restoring to the former inhabitants their household goods. The *Smyrneans* were in consequence divided among the other cities, with enjoyment of the different privileges annexed to each.

CLI. The above are the *Æolian* cities on the continent, among which we have not enumerated those of mount *Ida*, which can hardly be said to make a part of their body. They have also in *Lesbos*²⁰² five towns; there is a sixth, named *Arifba*,

²⁰² *Lesbos*.]—The names of *Arion* and *Terpander*, of *Pittacus*, of *Alcæus*, and of *Sappho*, and, in after times, of *Theophrastus*.

Arifba, but this was subdued by the Methynnæans, although allied to them by blood. They moreover possess a city in Tenedos²⁰³, and another in the Hundred Islands. The inhabitants of Lesbos and Tenedos, as well as those of the Ionian islands, were, from their situation, secure from danger; the others indiscriminately agreed to follow the direction and example of the Ionians.

CLII. The Ionians and Æolians made no delay in dispatching ambassadors to Sparta, who, when there, selected for their common orator a man of Phocæa, whose name was Pythermus. Habited in purple²⁰⁴, as a means of getting a greater number of Spartans together, he stood forth

phanes the historian, concur in making the island of Lesbos a just object of classical curiosity. Arion and Terpander excelled all their cotemporaries in the science and practice of music; Pittacus was eminent for his wisdom; and of Alcæus and Sappho little more need be said, than that they have ever been considered as the founders of lyric poetry. A proper opportunity seems here to present itself, of informing the English reader, that what has been said of the dissolute manners of Sappho is only to be found in the works of those who lived a long time after her. The wines of Lesbos were esteemed the finest in Greece: it is now called Mytilene, which was the name of the ancient capital of the island.—T.

²⁰³ *Tenedos.*]—The Grecian fleet which proceeded against Troy lay here. It retains its name, is inhabited by Greeks and Turks, and, according to Pocock, exports good wine and brandy.—T.

²⁰⁴ *Habited in purple.*]—This dress was the most likely to make him conspicuous, as being particularly affected by women.—Larcher.

in the midst of them, and exerted all his powers to prevail on them to communicate their assistance. The Lacedæmonians paid no attention to him, and publicly resolved not to assist the Ionians. On the departure of the ambassadors they nevertheless dispatched a vessel of fifty oars, to watch the proceedings of Cyrus, as well as of the Ionians. Arriving at Phocæa, they sent forwards to Sardis one Lacrines, the principal man of the party, who was commissioned to inform Cyrus that the Lacedæmonians would resent whatever injury might be offered to any of the Grecian cities.

CLIII. Cyrus gave audience to Lacrines; after which he enquired of the Grecians around him, who these Lacedæmonians were, and what effective power they possessed, to justify this lofty language? When he was satisfied in these particulars, he told the Spartan, "That men who had a large void space in their city, where they assembled for the purpose of defrauding each other, could never be to him objects of terror: he farther observed, that if he continued but in health, he would take care that their concern for the Ionian troubles should be superseded by the greatness of their own." Cyrus made this reflection upon the Greeks, from the circumstance of their having large public squares²⁰⁵ for the convenience of trade: the Persians

²⁰⁵ *Large public squares.*]—I have my doubts whether Herodotus was not misinformed in this particular. Xenophon properly distinguishes the public square which was occupied by the houses

ians have nothing of the kind. The care of Sardis Cyrus afterwards entrusted to Tabalus, a Persian; the disposition of the Lydian treasures he entrusted to Pactyas, a Lydian: Cyrus himself proceeded to Ecbatane, taking Crœsus with him. The Ionians he held in trifling estimation, compared with what he expected in his views upon Babylon and the Bactrians. He was prepared also for more serious resistance from the Sacians and Ægyptians; he therefore resolved to take the command in these expeditions himself, and to entrust one of his officers with the conduct of the Ionian war.

CLIV. As soon as Cyrus had left Sardis, Pactyas excited the Lydians to revolt. He proceeded towards the sea, and having all the wealth of Sardis at command, he procured a band of mercenaries, and prevailed on the inhabitants of the coast to enlist under his banners; he then encamped before Sardis, and besieged Tabalus in the citadel.

CLV. Intelligence of this was brought to Cyrus on his march; who thus addressed Crœsus on the subject: "What will, in your opinion, Crœsus, be the event of these disturbances? The Lydians seem inclined to provide sufficient employment for me, and trouble for themselves: I am in doubt, whether it will not be better to reduce them alto-

gether of the magistrates, and those appropriated to the education of youth, from those places in which provisions and merchandize were sold.—*Largher.*

gether

gether to servitude : I appear to myself in the situation of a man, who, destroying the parent, has spared the child—You, who were in every sense the parent of the Lydians, remain in captivity; and yet I am surprized that they, to whom I have restored their city, rebel against my power.” Croesus, on hearing these sentiments of Cyrus, was alarmed for the safety of Sardis. “Sir,” he replied, “your remarks are certainly reasonable; but do not, in your anger, destroy an ancient city, which cannot justly be accused of the former or present commotions. Of its preceding troubles I was the occasion, the penalty of which I suffer in my own person : Pactyas, who has abused your confidence, is the author of the present; let him, therefore, be the object of your resentment; but let the Lydians be forgiven, who may easily be prevented from giving you trouble or alarm hereafter. Let their arms be taken from them; let them be commanded to wear tunics under their cloaks, and buskins about their legs; suffer them to instruct their children in dancing, music, and other feminine accomplishments; you will soon see them lose the dignity of manhood²⁰⁶, and be effectually delivered from all future apprehensions of their revolt.

CLVI.

²⁰⁶ *Lose the dignity of manhood.*]—These people became so effeminate, that the word *ludizein* signified to dance: the Romans also called dances and pantomimes *ludiones* and *ludii*, which words are derived, not from *ludus*, but from the Lydians; for the Latins used *Ludus*, *Surus*, *Suria*, for *Lydus*, *Syrus*, and *Syria*.

CLVI. These suggestions Crœsus was induced to make, because he thought that even this situation would be better for his country than a state of actual servitude. He was well assured, that unless what he had urged was forcible, Cyrus would not be prevailed on to alter his determination. He reflected also on the probability of the Lydians revolting in future, if they escaped the present danger, and their consequent and unavoidable destruction. Cyrus took in good part the remonstrance of Crœsus, with which, forgetting his resentment, he promised to comply. He, in consequence, dispatched Mazares the Mede, who was commissioned to enforce these observances among the Lydians, which Crœsus had recommended. He farther ordered all those to be sold as slaves who had been active in the Lydian revolt, excepting Pactyas, whom he desired to be brought a prisoner to his presence.

CLVII. These commands he issued in his progress, and he marched without delay to Persia. As soon as Pactyas was informed that an army was advancing to oppose him, he fled in affright to Cyme. Mazares proceeded instantly to Sardis, with a small division of the army of Cyrus. When he heard of the flight of Pactyas, his first step was

Xerxes compelled the Babylonians, who had revolted from him, to adopt a similar conduct. He forbade their carrying arms, and obliged them to learn the practice of music, to have in their cities places of debauch, and to wear long tunics.—*Larcher.*

to compel the Lydians to the observance of what Cyrus had commanded. This proved so effectual that it produced a total change in the manners of the Lydians. Mazares then dispatched messengers to Cyme, demanding the person of Pactyas: with this the Cymeans hesitated to comply, and first of all sent persons to consult the oracle of Branchidæ, for directions how to act. This oracle was of the greatest antiquity, and consulted both by the Ionians and Æolians: it is in the territories of Miletus, beyond the port of Panormus²⁰⁷.

CLVIII. Their messengers were directed to enquire what conduct, with respect to Pactyas, would be most conformable to the will of the gods: they were in answer commanded to deliver him up to the Persians; which step, on their return, was about to be followed. In contradiction to the general inclination, Aristodicus, son of Heraclides, a man exceedingly popular, distrusted the interpretation of the oracle, and the fidelity of the messengers. He proposed, therefore, that a second message of enquiry should be sent to the oracle, and he himself was among the persons appointed for this purpose.

CLIX. On their arrival at Branchidæ, Aristodi-

²⁰⁷ *Port of Panormus.*]—It will be proper to remember here, that there were two places of this name; and that this must not be confounded with the port of Panormus, in the vicinity of Ephesus.—T.

cus was the person who addressed the oracle, which he did thus:—"To avoid a cruel death from the Persians, Pactyas, a Lydian, fled to us for refuge; the Persians required us to deliver him into their hands: much as we are afraid of their power, we fear still more to withdraw our protection from a suppliant; till we know your immutable opinion of such conduct." He nevertheless received the same answer; and they were ordered to deliver up Pactyas. To give greater force to what he had said, Aristodicus made a circle round the temple, and from such nests as were built on the outside he took the young. In consequence of his doing this, a voice is said to have exclaimed from the innermost recesses of the temple, "Impious man! how darest thou to injure those who have sought my protection?" In answer to this, Aristodicus replied with perfect composure, "Are you attentive to those who have sought your protection, and do you command us to abandon those who have sought ours?" "Yes," returned the oracle, "I do command it, that such impious men as you²⁰⁸ may

²⁰⁸ *Such impious men as you.*]—Dr. Jortin remarks, that justice, charity, piety, and faith, were not with those of the middle ages, who cultivated logical or philosophical divinity, what our Saviour and his apostles meant by these virtues. Those doctors called that man pious and holy who stripped himself to enrich the priests, who built churches and monasteries, who neither rejected nor neglected any thing which the pope required to be believed and performed. The remark applies, with peculiar force and truth, to the times and circumstances discussed in the chapter before us. ²T.

perish the sooner, and that you may never more trouble me about delivering up suppliants."

CLX. The Cymeans deliberating on this answer, resolved to take a middle step, that they might neither offend heaven, by abandoning one who had sought their protection, nor expose themselves to the indignation of Cyrus, by refusing his request. Pactyas, therefore, was privately dispatched to Mytilene. From hence also Mazares demanded him, and for a certain compensation the inhabitants of Mytilene agreed to deliver him. This, however, as the matter was never brought to an issue, I pretend not positively to assert. The Cymeans, hearing the danger of Pactyas, sent a vessel to Lesbos, in which he was conveyed to Chios. He here took refuge in the temple of Minerva ²⁰⁹. The Chians were prevailed on by the offer of Atarneus, a place in Mysia opposite to Lesbos, to take him forcibly from hence, and surrender him ²¹⁰ to his enemies. The Persians thus obtained

²⁰⁹ *Minerva.*]—Minerva Poliouchos, the protectress of the citadel. All citadels were supposed to be under the protection of this goddess, where also she had usually a temple.

Soon as to Ilion's topmost tower they come,
And awful reach the high Palladian dome.—

Pope, Il. vi.

²¹⁰ *Surrender him.*]—Charon the Lampfacenian, says Plutarch, a more ancient writer than Herodotus, relating this matter concerning Pactyas, charges neither the Mytilenians nor Chians with any such action. These are his words:—"Pactyas,

ed the means of complying with the wish of Cyrus, to have Pactyas delivered alive into his hands. Long, however; after this event, the Chians refused to use any part of the produce of Atarneus in any of their sacred ceremonies; they appeared to hold it in particular detestation, and it was not in any form introduced in their temples.

CLXI. After Pactyas had been given up by the Chians, Mazares proceeded to reduce those to obedience who had opposed Tabalus. The Prienians were subdued and sold for slaves; the plains of the Meander, and the city of Magnesia, were given up for plunder to the foldiers: after these events Mazares fell a victim to a sudden disease.

CLXII. Harpagus the Mede was appointed to succeed him: this was the man whom Astyages had entertained with so unnatural a feast, and who had assisted Cyrus in obtaining the kingdom: him Cyrus appointed to the command of his army. On his arrival in Ionia, he blockaded the different towns, by throwing up entrenchments before them; Phocæa was the first city of Ionia which thus fell into his hands.

CLXIII. The Phocæans were the first of the Greeks who made long voyages. The Adriatic and

tyas, on hearing of the approach of the Persian army, fled first to Mytilene, then to Chios, and fell into the hands of Cyrus.—
Plutarch on the malignity of Herodotus.

the Tyrrhene seas, Iberia and Tartessus, were first of all explored by them. Their vessels were not round but of fifty oars. On their touching at Tartessus, they conciliated the favour of Arganthonius²¹¹, sovereign of the place; he had then governed the Tartessians for the space of eighty years, and he lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. Upon that occasion he formed such a regard for the Phocæans, that, soliciting them to leave Ionia, he gave them permission to choose within his territories whatever situation they might prefer. On their refusal of his offer, and when he heard from them that the power of the Medæ was continually increasing, he supplied them with money to build walls to their city. The extent of the walls, which were of many furlongs, the size of the stones, with the skill of the workmanship, sufficiently attest the donor's liberality.

CLXIV. The Phocæans being thus provided with walls, Harpagus advanced and attacked their city. He offered them terms, and engaged to leave them unmolested, if they would suffer one of their

²¹¹ *Arganthonius.*]—That Herodotus may not, in this instance, be accused of falsehood, be it known that in these our times, an Englishman, of the name of Thomas Parr, lived to the age of one hundred and fifty-three. He was invited from his residence in the country to London, by king Charles, as a miracle of longevity, where he died, the change of air and of diet not agreeing with him. In all probability if he had staid at home, he might have lived longer. What is more remarkable, at the age of one hundred, he was tried for his life; ob vim illatam virgini.—*Palmerius.*

towers to be demolished, and give up some one edifice ²¹² for a sacred purpose. From their aversion to servitude, the inhabitants requested a day to deliberate on his proposal; desiring him in that interval to withdraw his forces. Harpagus avowed himself conscious of their intentions, but granted their request. Immediately on his retiring from their walls, the Phocæans prepared their fifty-oar'd galleys, in which they placed their families and effects. They collected also the statues and votive offerings from their temples, leaving only paintings, and such works of iron or of stone as could not easily be removed. With these they embarked, and directed their course to Chios. Thus deserted by its inhabitants, the Persians took possession of Phocæa.

CLXV. On their arrival at Chios, they made propositions for the purchase of the Ænussæ islands; not succeeding in their object, as the Chians were afraid of being by these means injured in their commerce, the Phocæans proceeded to Cyrenus *. In this place, twenty years before, they had,

²¹² *Some one edifice.*]—This passage is involved in some obscurity. The commentators understand a temple, M. Reiske wishes to make an addition of the word *mithre*. But the Persians did not confine the deity within walls. Perhaps, says Wesseling, Harpagus was satisfied with their consecrating one single building, in token of subjection. For my own part, I think that the king, having a palace in every large town of his dominions, the building which Harpagus demanded, was probably intended for his residence, whenever he might happen to visit Phocæa; or it might perhaps be intended for the governor, his representative.
—Larcher.

* This is Corsica.—T.

under some oracular direction, built a town, to which they gave the name of Alalia. Arganthonius in the mean while had died, and the Phocæans in their way to Cynus touched at Phocæa, where they put to death every one of the garrison, which had been left by Harpagus for the defence of the place. After this they bound themselves under solemn curses never to desert each other. They farther agreed by an oath never to return to Phocæa, till a red-hot ball, which they threw into the sea, should rise again. Notwithstanding these engagements, the greater part of them were, during the voyage, seized with so tender and such affectionate regret for their ancient residence, that they returned to Phocæa. Such of them as adhered to their former solemn resolutions, proceeded in their course from Ænussæ to Cynus.

CLXVI. Here they settled, lived in peace with the ancient inhabitants for the space of five years, and erected some temples. In consequence, however, of their committing depredations on all their neighbours, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians collected a fleet of sixty vessels to oppose them. The Phocæans on their part were not inactive; they also fitted out sixty vessels, and advanced to meet their adversaries on the Sardinian sea. The fleets engaged, the Phocæans conquered, but obtained what might be termed a Cadmean victory²¹³. They lost
forty

²¹³ *Cadmean victory.*]—The origin of this proverb is variously related.

forty of their vessels, and the twenty which remained were unfit for all service. Returning, therefore, to *Alalia*, they got together their families and effects, loaded their ships with all that they could carry, and, abandoning *Cyrnus*, directed their course to *Rhegium*.

CLXVII. On board the vessels which were taken by the enemy were a number of prisoners, most of whom were carried on shore, and stoned to death. After which enormity it happened that all the men, cattle, and different animals belonging to *Agylla* *, which approached this spot, were seized with convulsions, and deformity of one kind or other. This circumstance, and a wish to atone for their crime, induced the people of *Agylla* to consult the Delphic oracle. The Pythian directed them to perform, what is still observed as a custom among them: they instituted magnificent funeral rites in honour of those who had been slain, and they introduced in their honour gymnastic and equestrian exercises. Such was the fate of this portion of the *Phocæans*. They who retired to *Rhegium* took possession of a part of *Ænotria*, and built a city called *Hyela*. To this they were persuaded by a man of *Posidonia*, who instructed them that the related. *Suidas* says, amongst other things, that it became a proverb, because *Cadmus* having destroyed the dragon, which guarded a fountain sacred to *Mars*, lived afterwards for the space of eight years in servitude to *Mars*. It was applied universally to those whose offensive superiority was accompanied with real disadvantage. ~~T~~

* This was *Cære* in *Etruria*.

oracle really intended them to build a mausoleum to the hero Cynus, and not a city in the island of that name.—Such is the history of the Phocæans of Ionia.

CLXVIII. The fortune of the Teians was nearly similar; Harpagus having taken their city by blockade, they embarked, and passed over into Thrace; here they built Abdera ²¹⁴, the foundations of which were originally laid by Timesius ²¹⁵ of Clazomenæ. He enjoyed no advantage from his labours, but was banished by the Thracians, though now venerated by the Teians of Abdera as a hero.

CLXIX. These Ionians alone, through a warm attachment to liberty, thus abandoned their native country. The rest of these people, excepting the Milesians, met Harpagus in the field, and like their friends, who had sought another residence, fought like men and patriots. Upon being conquered, they continued in their several cities, and submitted to the wills of their new masters. The Milesians, who,
as

²¹⁴ *Abdera.*]—Of this place many singularities are related by Lucian and Pliny. The grass of the country was so strong, that such horses as eat of it ran mad. The inhabitants were afflicted with a fever, which so disturbed their imaginations, that they fancied themselves actors, and were, during the delirium, eternally repeating some verses from the *Andromeda* of Euripides. It produced, however, many famous men. It was the birth-place of Democritus, of Protagoras, Anaxarchus, Hecataeus, and others.—*T.*

²¹⁵ *Timesius.*]—Larcher, on the authority of Plutarch and *Ælian*, reads *Timesias*. The reading in all the manuscripts and editions of Herodotus, is *Timesius*.

Timesias

as I have before mentioned, had formed a league of amity with Cyrus, lived in undisturbed tranquillity. Thus was Ionia reduced a second time to servitude. Awed by the fate of their countrymen on the continent, the Ionians of the islands, without any resistance, submitted themselves to Harpagus and Cyrus.

CLXX. The Ionians, though thus depressed, did not omit assembling at Panionium, where, as I have been informed, Bias of Priene gave them advice so full of wisdom, that their compliance with it would have rendered them the happiest of the Greeks. He recommended them to form one general fleet, to proceed with this to Sardinia, and there erect one city capable of receiving all the Ionians. Thus they might have lived in enjoyment of their liberties, and possessing the greatest of all the islands, might have been secure of the dependance of the rest. On the contrary, their continuance in Ionia rendered every expectation of their recovering their independence altogether impossible. This, in their fallen condition, was the advice of Bias; but before their calamities, Thales the Milesian, who was in

Timefias was governor of Clazomenæ, and a man of great integrity. Envy, which always persecutes such characters, ultimately effected his disgrace. He was for a time regardless of its consequences: but it at length banished him from his country. He was passing by a school, before which the boys, dismissed by their master, were playing. Two of them were quarrelling about a piece of string. "I wish," says one of them, "I might so dash out the brains of Timefias." Hearing this, he concluded that if he was thus hated by boys, as well as men, the dislike of ~~his~~ person must be universal indeed; he therefore voluntarily banished himself.—*Ælian*.

fact of Phœnician origin, had wisely counselled them to have one general representation of the Ionians at Teos, this being a central situation: of which the other cities, still using their own customs and laws, might be considered as so many different tribes. Such were the different suggestions of these two persons.

CLXXI. On the reduction of Ionia, Harpagus incorporated the Ionians and Æolians with his forces, and proceeded against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians. The Carians formerly were islanders, in subjection to Minos, and called Leleges. But I do not, after the strictest examination, find that they ever paid tribute. They supplied Minos, as often as he requested, with a number of vessels, and at the period of his great prosperity and various victories, were distinguished above their neighbours by their ingenuity. Three improvements now in use among the Greeks are imputed to them. The Carians were the first who added crests to their helmets, and ornaments to their shields. They were also the first who gave the shield its handle²¹⁶. Be-

²¹⁶ *Its handle.*]—It appears from Homer, that in the time of the Trojan war the buckler had two handles of wood, one through which the arm was passed; the other was grasped by the hand, to regulate its movement. See *Iliad* 8, 193. This particularity is omitted by Mr. Pope, who contents himself with saying, shield of gold. The original is, the shield is intirely of gold, handles and all.—*καρπας τε κ' αὐτον*.—*T.*

Sophocles, therefore, has been guilty of an anachronism, in giving the shield of Ajax a handle of leather.—*Larcher.*

fore their time, such as bore shields had no other means of using them, but by a piece of leather suspended from the neck over the left shoulder. At a long interval of time, the Dorians and Ionians expelled the Carians, who thus driven from the islands settled on the continent. The above information concerning the Carians we receive from Crete; they themselves contradict it altogether, and affirm that they are original natives of the continent, and had never but one name. In confirmation of this they shew at Mylaffa ²¹⁷, a very ancient structure, built in honour of the Carian Jove, to the privileges of which the Lydians and Mysians are also admitted, as being of the same origin. According to their account, Lydus, Misus, and Carès, were brothers; the use of the above temple is therefore granted to their descendants, but to no other nation, though distinguished by the use of the same language.

CLXXII. The Caunians are in my opinion the aborigines of the country, notwithstanding they assert themselves to have come from Crete. I am not able to speak with decision on the subject; but it is certain, that either they adopted the Carian language, or the Carians accommodated themselves to theirs. Their laws and customs differ essentially from those of other nations, and no less so from the Carians.

²¹⁷ *Mylaffa*.]—Now called Melaffo. Besides the temple here mentioned, there was another of great antiquity, in honour of Jupiter Ofegus. In after-times a beautiful temple was constructed here, sacred to Augustus and to Rome. It is at the present day remarkable for producing the best tobacco in Turkey.—T.

Among them it is esteemed highly meritorious to make drinking parties, to which they resort in crowds, both men, women, and children, according to their different ages and attachments. In earlier times they adopted the religious ceremonies of foreign nations; but determining afterwards to have no deities but those of their own country, they assembled of all ages in arms, and rushing forwards, brandishing their spears as in the act of pursuit, they stopped not until they came to the mountains of Calynda, crying aloud that they were expelling their foreign gods ²¹⁸.

CLXXIII. The Lycians certainly derive their origin from Crete ²¹⁹. The whole of this island was formerly possessed by barbarians; but a contest for the supreme power arising between Sarpedon and Minos, the sons of Europa ²²⁰, Minos prevailed, and expelled Sarpedon and his adherents. These, in leaving

²¹⁸ *Foreign gods.*]—The gods of all polytheists, observes Mr. Hume, are no better than the elves or fairies of our ancestors. These pretended religionists acknowledge no being which corresponds to our idea of a deity. The Chinese, when their prayers are not answered, beat their idols. The deities of the Laplanders are any large stone which they meet with of an extraordinary shape. The Ægyptian mythologists, in order to account for animal worship, said, that the gods, pursued by the violence of earth-born men, who were their enemies, had formerly been obliged to disguise themselves under the semblance of beasts. Not even the immortal gods, said some German nations to Cæsar, are a match for the Suevi.—*Essay on the Natural History of Religion.*

²¹⁹ *Crete.*]—Now called Candia. For an account of its precise circumstances, consult Pocock.—*T.*

²²⁰ *Europa.*]—The popular story of Jupiter and Europa, is too well

leaving their country, came to that part of Asia which is called Milyas. The country of the Lycians was formerly called Milyas, and the Milyans were anciently known by the name of Solymi. Here Sarpedon governed; his subjects retained the names they brought, and indeed they are now by their neighbours called Termilians. Lycus, the son of Pandion, being also driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, went to Sarpedon, at Termilæ; in process of time the nation was after him called Lycians. Their laws are partly Cretan²²¹ and partly Carian. They have one distinction from which they never deviate, which is peculiar to themselves; they take their names from their mothers²²², and not from their fathers.

well known to require or to justify any elaborate discussion. This name, however, may be introduced amongst a thousand others, to prove how little it becomes any person to speak peremptorily, and with decision, upon any of these more ancient personages. According to Lucian, Europa and Astarte were the same, and worshipped with divine honours in Syria. She was also esteemed the same with Rhea, the mother of the gods.—*T.*

²²¹ *Partly Cretan.*]—The following singular circumstance is related by Ælian. “The Cretans,” says he, “are skilful archers. With their darts they wound the wild goats which feed upon the mountains. The goats, on perceiving themselves struck, immediately eat the herb dictamnus; as soon as they have tasted it, the darts fall from the wound.—*T.*”

²²² *From their mothers.*]—Bellerophon slew a wild boar, which destroyed all the cattle and fruits of the Xanthians, but for his services he received no compensation. He therefore prayed to Neptune, and obtained from him, that all the fields of the Xanthians should exhale a salt dew, and be universally corrupted. This continued till, regarding the supplications of the women, he prayed a second time to Neptune, to remove this effect of his indignation.

fathers. If any one is asked concerning his family, he proceeds immediately to give an account of his descent, mentioning the female branches only. If any free woman marries a slave, the children of such marriage are reputed free; but if a man who is a citizen, and of authority among them, marry a concubine, or a foreigner, his children can never attain any dignity in the state.

CLXXIV. Upon this occasion the Carians made no remarkable exertions, but afforded an easy victory to Harpagus. The Carians, indeed, were not less pusillanimous than all the Greeks inhabiting this district; among whom are the Cnidians, a Lacedæmonian colony, whose territories, called Trio-pium, extend to the sea. The whole of this country, except the Bybassian peninsula, is surrounded with water: on the north by the bay of Ceramus; and on the west by that sea which flows near Syme and Rhodes. Through this peninsula, which was only five furlongs in extent, the Cnidians endeavoured to

indignation from them. Hence a law was instituted amongst the Xanthians, that they should derive their names from their mothers, and not from their fathers.—*Plutarch on the Virtues of Women.*

The country of the Xanthians was in Lycia. If this custom commenced with the Xanthians, the Lycians doubtless adopted it. Amongst these people the inheritance descended to the daughters, the sons were excluded.—*Larcher.*

No less singular is the custom which prevails in some parts of this kingdom, called Borough English, which ordains that the youngest son shall inherit the estate, in preference to all his elder brothers.—*T.*

make

make a passage, whilst the forces of Harpagus were employed against Ionia. The whole of this country lying beyond the isthmus being their own, they meant thus to reduce it into the form of an island. Whilst they were engaged in this employment, the labourers were wounded in different parts of the body, and particularly in the eyes, by small pieces of flint, which seemed to fly about in so wonderful a manner as to justify their apprehensions that some supernatural power had interfered. They sent therefore to make enquiries at Delphi what power it was which thus opposed their efforts? The Pythian²²³, according to their own tradition, answered them thus :

Nor build, nor dig; for wiser Heav'n
Had, were it best, an island giv'n.

Upon this the Cnidians desisted from their purpose,

²²³ *The Pythian.*]—This answer of the oracle brings to mind an historical anecdote, which we may properly introduce here :—The Dutch offered Charles the Second of Spain to make the Tagus navigable as far as Lisbon, at their own expence, provided he would suffer them to exact, for a certain number of years, a stipulated duty on merchandize which should pass that way. It was their intention to make the Manzanera navigable from Madrid to the place where it joins the Tagus. After a sage deliberation, the council of Castile returned this remarkable answer: “ If it had pleased God to make these rivers navigable, the intervention of human industry would not have been necessary: as they are not so already, it does not appear that Providence intended them to be so. Such an undertaking would be seemingly to violate the decrees of Heaven, and to attempt the amendment of these apparent imperfections visible in its works.”—Translated by Larcher, from *Clarke's Letters on the Spanish Nation*.

and, on the approach of the enemy, surrendered themselves, without resistance, to Harpagus.

CLXXV. The inland country beyond Halicarnassus was inhabited by the Pedasians. Of them it is affirmed, that whenever they or their neighbours are menaced by any calamity, a prodigious beard grows from the chin of the priestesses of Minerva²²⁴: this, they say, has happened three several times. They having fortified mount Lida, were the only people of Caria who discovered any resolution in opposing Harpagus. After many exertions of bravery, they were at length subdued.

CLXXVI. When Harpagus led his army towards Xanthus, the Lycians boldly advanced to meet him, and, though inferior in number, behaved with the greatest bravery. Being defeated, and pursued into their city, they collected their wives, children, and valuable effects, into the citadel, and there consumed the whole in one immense fire²²⁵. They afterwards
uniting

²²⁴ *The priestesses of Minerva.*]—We express ourselves surprised at the blind credulity of the ancients: posterity, in its turn, will be astonished at ours, without being on this account perhaps at all more wise.—*Larcher.*

The liquefying of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, which by the majority of the people there it would at this day be thought impiety to doubt, is recited in a very lively and entertaining manner by Dr. Moore, and is an instance of credulity no less striking than the one recorded by Herodotus of the Carian priestesses.—*T.*

²²⁵ *One immense fire.*]—The following anecdote from Plutarch, describes a similar emotion of despair.—The Xanthians made a sally in the night, and seizing many of the enemy's battering engines, set them on fire. Being soon perceived by the Romans, they

uniting themselves under the most solemn curses, made a private sally upon the enemy, and were every man put to death. Of those who now inhabit Lycia, calling themselves Xanthians, the whole are foreigners, eighty families excepted: these survived the calamity of their country, being at that time absent on some foreign expedition. Thus Xanthus fell into the hands of Harpagus; as also did Caunus, whose people imitated, almost in every respect, the example of the Lycians.

CLXXVII. Whilst Harpagus was thus engaged in the conquest of the Lower Asia, Cyrus himself conducted an army against the upper regions, of every part of which he became master. The particulars of his victories I shall omit; expatiating only upon those which are more memorable in themselves, and which Cyrus found the most difficult to accomplish. When he had reduced the whole of the continent, he commenced his march against the Assyrians.

they were beaten back. A violent wind forced the flames against the battlements of the city with such violence, that the adjoining houses took fire. Brutus, on this, commanded his soldiers to assist the citizens in quenching the fire: but they were seized with so sudden a frenzy and despair, that women and children, bond and free, all ages and conditions, strove to repel those who came to their assistance, and, gathering whatever combustible matter they could, spread the fire over the whole city. Not only men and women, but even boys and little children, leaped into the fire; others threw themselves from the walls; others fell upon their parents swords, opening their breasts, and desiring to be slain.—T.

CLXXVIII. The Assyrians are masters of many capital towns; but their place of greatest strength and fame is Babylon²²⁶, where, after the destruction of Nineveh, was the royal residence. It is situated on a large plain, and is a perfect square: each side by every approach is, in length, one hundred and twenty furlongs; the space, therefore, occupied by the whole is four hundred and eighty furlongs. So extensive is the ground which Babylon occupies; its internal beauty and magnificence exceeds whatever has come within my knowledge. It is surrounded by a trench, very wide, deep, and full of water: the wall beyond this is two hundred royal cubits²²⁷ high, and fifty wide: the royal exceeds the common cubit by three digits.

CLXXIX. It will not be foreign to my purpose

²²⁶ *Babylon.*]—The greatest cities of Europe give but a faint idea of that grandeur which all historians unanimously ascribe to the famous city of Babylon.—*Dutens.*

Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency.—*Isaiah.*

²²⁷ *Cubits.*]—It must be confessed, indeed, that in the comparison of ancient and modern measures, nothing certain has been concluded. According to vulgar computation, a cubit is a foot and a half; and thus the ancients also reckoned it: but then we are not certainly agreed about the length of their foot.—*Montfaucon.*

The doubt expressed by Montfaucon appears unnecessary: these measures, being taken from the proportions of the human body, are more permanent than any other. The foot of a moderate-sized man, and the cubit, that is the space from the end of the fingers to the elbow, have always been near twelve and and eighteen inches respectively.—*T.*

to describe the use to which the earth dug out of the trench was converted, as well as the particular manner in which they constructed the wall. The earth of the trench was first of all laid in heaps, and, when a sufficient quantity was obtained, made into square bricks, and baked in a furnace. They used as cement, a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of reeds, was placed betwixt every thirtieth course of bricks. Having thus lined the sides of the trench, they proceeded to build the wall in the same manner; on the summit of which, and fronting each other, they erected small watch-towers of one story, leaving a space betwixt them through which a chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at different distances, were an hundred massy gates of brass²²⁸, whose hinges and frames were of the same metal. Within an eight days journey from Babylon is a city called Is; near which flows a river of the same name, which empties itself into the Euphrates. With the current of this river particles of bitumen descend towards Babylon, by the means of which its walls were constructed.

CLXXX. The great river Euphrates, which, with its deep and rapid streams, rises in the Armenian mountains, and pours itself into the Red Sea²²⁹,

²²⁸ *Gates of brass.*]—Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus: I will go before thee; I will break in pieces the gates of brass.—*Isaiah*.

²²⁹ *Red Sea.*]—The original Erythrean or Red Sea was that part of the Indian ocean which forms the peninsula of Arabia; the Persian and Arabian gulphs being only branches of it.—*T*.

divides Babylon into two parts. The walls meet and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town, where a breast-work of burnt bricks begins, and is continued along each bank. The city, which abounds in houses from three to four stories in height, is regularly divided into streets. Through these, which are parallel, there are transverse avenues to the river opened through the wall and breast-work, and secured by an equal number of little gates of brass.

CLXXXI. The first wall is regularly fortified; the interior one, though less in substance, is of almost equal strength. Besides these, in the centre of each division of the city there is a circular space surrounded by a wall. In one of these stands the royal palace, which fills a large and strongly defended space. The temple of Jupiter Belus²³⁰ occupies the other, whose huge gates of brass may still be seen. It is a square building, each side of which is of the length of two furlongs. In the midst a

²³⁰ *Temple of Jupiter Belus*]—It is necessary to have in mind, that the temples of the ancients were essentially different from our churches. A large space was inclosed by walls, in which were courts, a grove, pieces of water, apartments sometimes for the priests; and lastly the temple, properly so called, and where most frequently it was permitted the priests alone to enter. The whole inclosure was named *το ιερον*: the temple, properly so called, or the residence of the deity, was called *ναος* (naos) or the cell. It is obvious, that this last is the place particularly alluded to.—*Larcher*.

Bel and Belus was a title bestowed upon many persons. It was particularly given to Nimrod, who built the city Babel or Babylon.—*Bryant*.

tower

tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one furlong; upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure there is a convenient resting-place. In the last tower is a large chapel, in which is placed a couch magnificently adorned, and near it a table of solid gold; but there is no statue in the place. No man is suffered to sleep here; but the apartment is occupied by a female, whom the Chaldean priests²³¹ affirm that their deity selects from the whole nation as the object of his pleasures.

CLXXXII. They themselves have a tradition, which cannot easily obtain credit, that their deity enters this temple, and reposes by night on this couch. A similar assertion is also made by the Ægyptians of Thebes; for, in the interior part of the temple of the Thebean Jupiter, a woman in like manner sleeps. Of these two women, it is presumed that neither of them have any communication with the other sex. In which predicament the priestess of the temple of Patarae in Lycia is also placed.

²³¹ *Chaldean priests.*]—Belus came originally from Ægypt. He went, accompanied by other Ægyptians, to Babylon: there he established priests; these are the personages called by the Babylonians Chaldeans. The Chaldeans carried to Babylon the science of astrology, which they learned from the Ægyptian priests.—*Larcher.*

Here is no regular oracle ²³²; but whenever a divine communication is expected, the priestess is obliged to pass the preceding night in the temple.

CLXXXIII. In this temple there is also a small chapel, lower in the building, which contains a figure of Jupiter in a sitting posture, with a large table before him; these, with the base of the table, and the seat of the throne, are all of the purest gold, and are estimated by the Chaldæans to be worth eight hundred talents. On the outside of this chapel there are two altars; one is of gold, the other is of immense size, and appropriated to the sacrifice of full-grown animals: those only which have not left their dams may be offered on the altar of gold. Upon the larger altar, at the time of the anniversary festival in honour of their god, the Chaldæans regularly consume incense to the amount of a thousand talents. There was formerly in this temple a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high; this, however, I mention from the information of the Chaldeans, and not from my own knowledge. Darius the son of Hystaspes ²³⁴ endeavoured by

²³² *Regular oracle.*]—According to Servius, Apollo communicated his oracles at Pataræ during the six winter months, at Delos in the six months of summer.—*Larcher.*

²³³ *Darius the son of Hystaspes.*]—The only Babylonish and Persian princes found in the Bible, are Nebuchadnezzar, Evil Merodach, Belshazzar, Ahafuerus, Darius the Mede, Coresh, and Darius the Persian; Artaxerxes also is mentioned in Nehemiah. Ahafuerus has been the subject of much etymological investigation

by sinister means to get possession of this, not daring openly to take it; but his son Xerxes afterwards seized it, putting the priest to death who endeavoured to prevent its removal. The temple, besides those ornaments which I have described, contains many offerings of individuals.

CLXXXIV. Among the various sovereigns of Babylon, who contributed to the strength of its walls, and the decoration of its temples, and of whom I shall make mention when I treat of the Assyrians, there were two females, the former of these was named Semiramis²³⁴, who preceded the other by an interval of five generations. This

gation. Sir Isaac Newton, by inadvertency, makes him in one place to be Cyaxares, in another Xerxes. Archbishop Usher supposes him to be Darius Hystaspes; Scaliger, Xerxes; Josephus, the Septuagint, and Dr. Hyde, Artaxerxes Longimanus.—*Richardson*.

²³⁴ *Semiramis*.]—It may be worth while to observe the different opinions of authors about the time when Semiramis is supposed to have lived.

	Years.
According to Syncellus, she lived before Christ	- 2177
Petavius makes the term	- - - - - 2060
Helvicius	- - - - - 2248
Eusebius	- - - - - 1984
Mr. Jackson	- - - - - 1964
Archbishop Usher	- - - - - 1215
Philo Biblius, from Sanchoniathon, about	- - 1200
Herodotus about	- - - - - 713

What credit can be given to the history of a person, the time of whose life cannot be ascertained within 1535 years?—*Bryant*.

queen raised certain mounds, which are indeed admirable works; till then the whole plain was subject to violent inundations from the river.

CLXXXV. The other queen was called Nitocris; she being a woman of superior understanding, not only left many permanent works, which I shall hereafter describe, but also having observed the encreasing power and restless spirit of the Medes, and that Nineveh, with other cities, had fallen a prey to their ambition, put her dominions in the strongest posture of defence. To effect this, she sunk a number of canals above Babylon, which by their disposition rendered the Euphrates, which before flowed to the sea in an almost even line, so complicated by its windings, that in its passage to Babylon it arrives three times at Ardericca, an Assyrian village: and to this hour they who wish to go from the sea up the Euphrates to Babylon, are compelled to touch at Ardericca three times on three different days. The banks also, which she raised to restrain the river on each side, are really wonderful, from their enormous height and substance. At a considerable distance above Babylon, turning aside a little from the stream, she ordered an immense lake to be dug, sinking it till they came to the water: its circumference was no less than four hundred and twenty furlongs. The earth of this was applied to the embankments of the river; and the sides of the trench or lake were strengthened and lined with stones, brought thither for that purpose. She had in view by these

these works, first of all to break the violence of the current by the number of circumflexions, and also to render the navigation to Babylon as difficult and tedious as possible. These things were done in that part of her dominions which was most accessible to the Medes; and with the farther view of keeping them in ignorance of her affairs, by giving them no commercial encouragement.

CLXXXVI. Having rendered both of these works strong and secure, she proceeded to execute the following project. The city being divided by the river into two distinct parts, whoever wanted to go from one side to the other was obliged, in the time of the former kings, to pass the water in a boat. For this, which was a matter of general inconvenience, she provided this remedy, and the immense lake which she had before sunk became the farther means of extending her fame:—Having procured a number of large stones, she changed the course of the river, directing it into the canal prepared for its reception. When this was full, the natural bed of the river became dry, and the embankments on each side, near those smaller gates which led to the water, were lined with bricks hardened by fire, similar to those which had been used in the construction of the wall. She afterwards, nearly in the centre of the city, with the stones above-mentioned, strongly compacted with iron and with lead, erected a bridge²³⁵; over this

²³⁵ *A bridge.*]—Diodorus Siculus represents this bridge as
five

this the inhabitants passed in the day time by a square platform, which was removed in the evening to prevent acts of mutual depredation. When the above canal was thoroughly filled with water, and the bridge completely finished and adorned, the Euphrates was suffered to return to its original bed: thus both the canal and the bridge were confessedly of the greatest utility to the public.

CLXXXVII. The above queen was also celebrated for another instance of ingenuity: she caused her tomb²³⁶ to be erected over one of the principal

five furlongs in length; but as Strabo assures us that the Euphrates was no more than one furlong wide, Rollin is of opinion that the bridge could not be so long as Diodorus describes it. Although the Euphrates was, generally speaking, no more than one furlong in breadth, at the time of a flood it was probably more; and, doubtless, the length of the bridge was proportioned to the extremest possible width of the river. This circumstance M. Rollin does not seem to have considered. The Manzanares, which washes one of the extremities of Madrid, is but a small stream: but as, in the time of a flood, it spreads itself over the neighbouring fields, Philip the Second built a bridge eleven hundred feet long. The bridge of Semiramis, its length alone excepted, must have been very inferior to these of ours. It consisted only of large masses of stone, piled upon each other at regular distances, without arches; they were made to communicate by pieces of wood thrown over each pile.—*Larcher*.

²³⁶ *Her tomb.*]—Nitocris, in this instance, deviated from the customs of her country. The Assyrians, to preserve the bodies of their dead the longer from putrefaction, covered them with honey: the Romans did the same. As to their funeral rites, the Assyrians in all respects imitated the Ægyptians.—*T*.

incipal gates of the city, and so situated as to be obvious to universal inspection: it was thus inscribed—“If any of the sovereigns, my successors, shall be in extreme want of money, let him open my tomb, and take what money he may think proper; if his necessity be not great, let him forbear, the experiment will perhaps be dangerous.” The tomb remained without injury till the time and reign of Darius. He was equally offended at the gate’s being rendered useless, and that the invitation thus held out to become affluent, should have been so long neglected. The gate, it is to be observed, was of no use, from the general aversion to pass through a place over which a dead body was laid. Darius opened the tomb; but instead of finding riches, he saw only the dead body, with a label of this import: “If your avarice had not been equally base and insatiable, you would not have intruded on the repose of the dead.”—Such are the traditions concerning this queen.

CLXXXVIII. Against her son Labynitus, who, with the name of his father, enjoyed the empire of Assyria, Cyrus conducted his army. The great king²³⁷, in his warlike expeditions, is provided from

It appears from Plutarch, that the tomb of Cyrus, and of many of the princes of the East, were within the precincts of their cities.—*Bryant*.

²³⁷ *Great king*.]—This was the title by which the Greeks always distinguished the monarchs of Persia. The emperor of Constantinople is at the present day called the grand signior.—*Larcher*.

from home with cattle, and all other necessaries for his table. There is also carried with him water of the river Choaspes²³⁸, which flows near Susa, for the king drinks of no other; wherever he goes he is attended by a number of four-wheeled carriages, drawn by mules, in which the water of Choaspes, being first boiled, is disposed in vessels of silver.

CLXXXIX. Cyrus in his march to Babylon arrived at the river Gyndes, which rising in the mountains of Matiene, and passing through the country of the Darneans, loses itself in the Tigris: and this, after flowing by Opis, is finally discharged into the Red Sea. Whilst Cyrus was endeavouring to pass
this

Lofly titles have always been, and still continue to be conferred upon the Oriental princes.—Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, 'The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth.—*Esra*, i. 2.

For I never hurt any that was willing to serve Nabuchodonosor, king of all the earth.—*Judith*, xi. 1.

²³⁸ *Choaspe*.]—

There Susa by Choaspe's amber stream,

'The drink of none but kings.

Milton's Paradise Regained, Book ii.

Upon the above passage of Milton, Jortin has this remark: "I am afraid Milton is here mistaken. That the kings of Persia drank no water but that of the river Choaspes, is well known: that none *but* kings drank of it, is what I believe cannot be proved."

Alian relates, that Xerxes during his march came to a desert place, and was exceedingly thirsty; his attendants with his baggage were at some distance: proclamation was made, that whoever had any of the water of Choaspes should produce it
for

this river, which could not be performed without boats, one of the white consecrated horses boldly entering the stream, in his attempts to cross it was borne away by the rapidity of the current, and totally lost. Cyrus, exasperated ³³⁹ by the accident, made a vow, that he would render this stream so very insignificant, that women should hereafter be able to cross it without so much as wetting their knees. He accordingly suspended his designs upon Babylon, and divided his forces into two parts: he then marked out with a line, on each side the river, one hundred and eighty trenches; these were dug according to his orders, and so great a number of men were employed, that he accomplished his purpose, but he thus wasted the whole of that summer.

CXC. Cyrus having thus satisfied his resentment with respect to the Gyndes, on the approach

for the use of the king. One person was found who possessed a small quantity, but it was quite putrid: Xerxes, however, drank it, and considered the person who supplied it as his friend and benefactor, as he must otherwise have perished with thirst.—

³³⁹ *Cyrus, exasperated.*]—This portrait of Cyrus seems to me a little overcharged. The hatred which the Greeks bore the Persians is sufficiently known. The motive with Cyrus for thus treating the Gyndes could not be such as is here described. That which happened to the sacred horse might make him apprehend a similar fate for the rest of his army, and compel him to divert the river into a great number of canals to render it fordable. A similar example occurs in a preceding chapter.—
Larcher.

of spring prepared to march towards Babylon; the Babylonians awaited him in arms: as he advanced they met and gave him battle, but were defeated, and chased into the town. The inhabitants were well acquainted with the restless and ambitious temper of Cyrus, and had guarded against this event, by collecting provisions and other necessaries sufficient for many years support, which induced them to regard a siege as a matter of but small importance; and Cyrus, after much time lost, without having made the smallest progress, was reduced to great perplexity.

CXCI. Whilst in this state of anxiety he adopted the following expedient, either from the suggestions of others, or from the deliberation of his own judgment:—He placed one detachment of his forces where the river first enters the city, and another where it leaves it, directing them to enter the channel, and attack the town whenever a passage could be effected. After this disposition of his men, he withdrew with the less effective of his troops to the marshy ground which we have before described. Here he pursued in every respect the example of the Babylonian princefs; he pierced the bank, and introduced the river into the lake, by which means the bed of the Euphrates became sufficiently shallow for the object in view. The Persians in their station watched the proper opportunity, and when the stream had so far retired as not to be higher than their thighs, they entered Babylon without difficulty. If the besieged had either
been

been aware of the designs of Cyrus, or had discovered the project before its actual accomplishment, they might have effected the total destruction of these troops. They had only to secure the little gates which led to the river, and to have manned the embankments on either side, and they might have enclosed the Persians in a net from which they could never have escaped: as it happened, they were taken by surprise; and such is the extent of the city, that, as the inhabitants themselves affirm, they who lived in the extremities were made prisoners, before any alarm was communicated⁴⁰ to the centre of the place. It was a day of festivity among them, and whilst the citizens were engaged in dance and merriment, Babylon was, for the first time, thus taken.

CXCII. The following exists, amongst many other proofs which I shall hereafter produce, of the power and greatness of Babylon. Independent of those subsidies which are paid monthly to the Persian monarch, the whole of his dominions are obliged throughout the year to provide subsistence for him and for his army. Babylon alone raises a supply for four months, eight being proportioned to all the rest of Asia; so that the resources of this

⁴⁰ *Any alarm was communicated.*]—They who were in the citadel did not know of the capture of the place till the break of day, which is not at all improbable: but it exceeds belief, what Aristotle affirms, that even on the third day it was not known in some quarters of the town that Babylon was taken.—*Larcher.*

region are considered as adequate to a third part of Asia. The government also of this country, which the Persians call a satrapy, is deemed by much the noblest in the empire²⁴¹. When Tritantæchmes, son of Artabazus, was appointed to this principality by the king, he received every day an artaby of silver. The artaby is a Persian measure, which exceeds the Attic medimnus by about three chænicæ. Besides his horses for military service, this province maintained for the sovereign's use a stud of eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand mares, one horse being allotted to twenty mares. He had moreover so immense a number of Indian dogs²⁴², that four great towns in the vicinity of Babylon were exempted from all other tax but that of maintaining them.

CXCIII. The Assyrians have but little rain, the lands, however, are fertilized, and the fruits of the earth nourished by means of the river. This does

²⁴¹ The description of Assyria, says Mr. Gibbon, is furnished by Herodotus, who sometimes writes for children and sometimes for philosophers. It is given also by Strabo and Ammianus. The most useful of the modern travellers are Tavernier, Otter, and Niebuhr: yet I must regret, adds the historian, that the *Trak Arabi* of Abulfeda has never been translated.

²⁴² *Indian dogs.*]—These were very celebrated. The ancients, in general, believed them to be produced from a bitch and a tiger. The Indians pretend, says Pliny, that the bitches are lined by tigers, and for this reason when they are at heat they confine them in some part of the forests. The first and second race they deem to be remarkably fierce; they bring up also the third.—*Larcher.*

not ²⁴¹, like the Ægyptian Nile, enrich the country by overflowing its banks, but is dispersed by manual labour, or by hydraulic engines. The Babylonian district, like Ægypt, is intersected by a number of canals ²⁴², the largest of which, continued with a south east course from the Euphrates to that part of the Tigris where Nineveh stands, is capable of receiving vessels of burden. Of all countries which have come within my observation, this is far the most fruitful in corn. Fruit-trees, such as the vine, the olive, and the fig, they do not even attempt to cultivate; but the soil is so particularly well adapted for corn, that it never produces less than two hundred fold; in seasons which are remarkably favourable, it will sometimes rise to three hundred: the ear of their wheat as well as barley is four digits in size. The immense height to which millet and sesamum ²⁴³ will grow, although I have witnessed it

²⁴² *This does not, &c.*]—The Euphrates occasionally overflows its banks, but its inundations do not, like those of the Nile, communicate fertility. The streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris do not, says Pliny, leave behind them the mud which the Nile does in Ægypt.—*Larcher*.

²⁴³ *Number of canals.*]—The uses of these artificial canals were various and important: they served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the season of their respective inundations; subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands, and supplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce; and as the dams could be speedily broken down, they armed the despair of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army.—*Gibson*.

²⁴⁵ *Sesamum.*]—Of this plant there are three species; the

it myself, I know not how to mention. I am well aware that they who have not visited this country will deem whatever I may say on the subject a violation of probability. They have no oil but what they extract from the sesamum. The palm ²⁴⁶ is a very common plant in this country, and generally fruitful: this they cultivate like fig-trees, and it produces them bread, wine, and honey. The process ²⁴⁷ observed is this: they fasten the fruit of that which the Greeks term the male tree to the one which produces the date, by this means the worm which is contained in the former enter-

Oriente, the Indicum, and the Trifolium: it is the first kind which is here meant. It is an annual herbaceous plant; its flowers are of a dirty white, and not unlike the fox-glove; it is cultivated in the Levant as a pulse, and indeed in all the eastern countries; it has of late years been introduced into Carolina, and with success; an oil is expressed from its seed; it is the seed which is eaten: they are first parched over the fire, and then stewed with other ingredients in water.—7.

²⁴⁶ *The palm.*]—The learned Kämpfer, as a botanist, an antiquary, and a traveller, has exhausted the whole subject of palm-trees. The diligent natives, adds Mr. Gibbon, celebrated either in verse or prose the three hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit were skilfully applied.

²⁴⁷ *The process.*]—Upon this subject the learned and industrious Larcher has exhausted no less than ten pages. The ancients whom he cites are Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Pliny; the moderns are Pontedera, and Tournefort, which last he quotes at considerable length. The Amœnitates Exoticæ of Kämpfer, to which I have before alluded, will fully satisfy whoever wishes to be more minutely informed on one of the most curious and interesting subjects which the science of natural history involves.—7.

ing the fruit, ripens and prevents it from dropping immaturity. The male palms bear insects in their fruit, in the same manner as the wild fig-trees.

CXCIV. Of all that I saw in this country, next to Babylon itself, what to me appeared the greatest curiosity, were the boats. These which are used by those who come to the city are of a circular form, and made of skins. They are constructed in Armenia, in the parts above Assyria, where the sides of the vessels being formed of willow²⁴⁸, are covered externally with skins, and having no distinction of head or stern, are modelled into the shape of a shield. Lining the bottoms of these boats with reeds, they take on board their merchandize, and thus commit themselves to the stream. The principal article of their commerce is palm wine, which they carry in casks. The boats have two oars, one man

²⁴⁸ *Formed of willow, &c.]—*

The bending willow into barks they twine,
Then line the work with skins of slaughter'd kine;
Such are the floats Venetian fishers know,
Where in dull marshes stands the settling Po:
On such to neighbouring Gaul, allur'd by gain,
The bolder Britons cross the swelling main.
Like these, when fruitful Egypt lies afloat,
The Memphian artist builds his reedy boat.

Rowe's Lucan.

The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon.—*Gibbon.*

I have been informed, that a kind of canoe made in a similar form, and precisely of the same materials, is now in use in Monmouthshire, and other parts of Wales, and called a corricle.—*T.*

to each; one pulls to him, the other pushes from him. These boats are of very different dimensions; some of them are so large as to bear freights to the value of five thousand talents: the smaller of them has one ass on board; the larger, several. On their arrival at Babylon, they dispose of all their cargo, selling the ribs of their boats, the matting, and every thing but the skins which cover them; these they lay upon their asses, and with them return to Armenia. The rapidity of the stream is too great to render their return by water practicable. This is perhaps the reason which induces them to make their boats of skin, rather than of wood. On their return with their asses to Armenia, they make other vessels in the manner we have before described.

CXCV. Their clothing is of this kind: they have two vests, one of linen which falls to the feet, another over this which is made of wool; a white fash covers the whole. The fashion of their shoes ²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ *Fashion of their shoes.*]—The Bæotian shoes were made of wood, and came up part of the leg. The dresses for the feet and legs amongst the Greeks and Romans were nearly the same; they had both shoes and sandals, the former covered the whole foot, the last consisted of one or of more soles, and were fastened with thongs above the foot. In the simplicity of primitive manners, the feet were only protected by raw hides. It is said in Dion Cassius, that Julius Cæsar gave offence at Rome, by wearing high-heeled shoes of a red colour. The shoes of the Roman senators were distinguished by a crescent. A particular form of shoe or sandal was appropriated to the army; and a description of thirty different kinds, as used by the Romans and such nations as they deemed barbarous, may be found in Montfaucon.—T.

is peculiar to themselves, though somewhat resembling those worn by the Thebans. Their hair ²⁵⁰ they wear long, and covered with a turban, and are lavish in their use of perfumes ²⁵¹. Each person has a seal ring, and a cane, or walking-stick, upon the top of which is carved an apple ²⁵², a rose, a fly, an eagle, or some figure or other; for to have a stick without a device, is unlawful.

CXCVI. In my description of their laws, I have to mention one, the wisdom of which I must admire; and which, if I am not misinformed, the Eneiti, who are of Illyrian origin, use also. In each of

²⁵⁰ *Their hair.*]—It cannot be a matter of the smallest importance, to know whether the Babylonians wore their hair short, or suffered it to grow. But it is a little singular, that in this instance Strabo formally contradicts Herodotus, although in others he barely copies him.—*Larcher*.

²⁵¹ *Perfumes.*]—The use of aromatics in the East may be dated from the remotest antiquity; they are at the present period introduced, not only upon every religious and festive occasion, but as one essential instrument of private hospitality and friendship. “Ointment and perfume,” says Solomon, “rejoice the heart.” At the present day, to sprinkle their guests with rose-water, and to perfume them with aloes wood, is an indispensable ceremony at the close of every visit in Eastern countries. At the beginning of the present century they were considered as a proof of great extravagance and unusual luxury; they have of late years been continually becoming more and more familiar, till they have at length ceased to be any distinction of elegance, of fortune, or of rank.—*T*.

²⁵² *An apple.*]—What, in common with Littlebury and Larcher, I have translated apple, Mr. Bryant understands to be a pomegranate, which, he says, was worn by the ancient Persians on their walking-sticks and sceptres, on account of its being a sacred emblem.—*T*.

their several districts this custom was every year observed: such of their virgins as were marriageable were at an appointed time and place assembled together. Here the men also came, and some public officer sold by auction²⁵³ the young women one by one, beginning with the most beautiful. When she was disposed of, and as may be supposed for a considerable sum, he proceeded to sell the one who was next in beauty, taking it for granted that each man married the maid he purchased. The more affluent of the Babylonian youths contended with much ardour and emulation to obtain the most beautiful: those of the common people who were desirous of marrying, as if they had but little occasion for personal accomplishments, were content to receive the

²⁵³ *Sold by auction.*]—Herodotus here omits one circumstance of consequence, in my opinion, to prove that this ceremony was conducted with decency. It passed under the inspection of the magistrates; and the tribunal whose office it was to take cognizance of the crime of adultery, superintended the marriage of the young women. Three men, respectable for their virtue, and who were at the head of their several tribes, conducted the young women that were marriageable to the place of assembly, and there sold them by the voice of the public crier.—*Larcher.*

If the custom of disposing of the young women to the best bidder was peculiar to the Babylonians, that of purchasing the person intended for a wife, and of giving the father a sum to obtain her, was much more general. It was practised amongst the Greeks, the Trojans, and their allies, and even amongst the deities.—*Bellanger.*

Three daughters in my court are bred,
And each well worthy of a royal bed:
Laodice, and Iphigenia fair,
And bright Chrysothemis with golden hair.
Her let him choose, whom most his eyes approve;
I ask no presents, no reward for love.—*Pope's Iliad.*

more

more homely maidens, with a portion annexed to them. For the crier, when he had sold the fairest, selected also the most ugly, or one that was deformed; she also was put up to sale, and assigned to whoever would take her with the least money. This money was what the sale of the beautiful maidens produced, who were thus obliged to portion out those who were deformed, or less lovely than themselves. No man was permitted to provide a match for his daughter, nor could any one take away the woman whom he purchased, without first giving security to make her his wife. To this if he did not assent, his money was returned him. There were no restrictions with respect to residence; those of another village might also become purchasers. This, although the most wise of all their institutions, has not been preserved to our time. One of their later ordinances was made to punish violence offered to women, and to prevent their being carried away to other parts; for after the city had been taken, and the inhabitants plundered, the lower people were reduced to such extremities, that they prostituted their daughters for hire.

CXCVII. They have also another institution, the good tendency of which claims our applause. Such as are diseased ²⁵⁴ among them they carry into

²⁵⁴ *Diseased.*]—We may from hence observe the first rude commencement of the science of medicine. Syrianus is of opinion, that this science originated in *Aegypt*, from those persons who had been disordered in any part of their bodies writing down the remedies from which they ~~received~~ benefit.—*Larcher*.

some public square: they have no professors of medicine, but the passengers in general interrogate the sick person concerning his malady; that if any person has either been afflicted with a similar disease himself, or seen its operation on another, he may communicate the process by which his own recovery was effected, or by which, in any other instance, he knew the disease to be removed. No one may pass by the afflicted person in silence, or without enquiry into the nature of his complaint.

CXCVIII. Previous to their interment, their dead are anointed with honey, and, like the Egyptians, they are fond of funeral lamentations. Whenever a man has had communication with his wife²⁵⁵, he sits over a consecrated vessel, containing burning perfumes; the woman does the same. In the morning both of them go into the bath; till after which application they will neither of them touch any domestic utensil. This custom is also observed in Arabia.

CXCIX. The Babylonians have one custom in the highest degree abominable. Every woman who is a native of the country is obliged once in her

²⁵⁵ *Communication with his wife.*]—I much approve of the reply of Theano, wife of Pythagoras. A person enquired of her, what time was required for a woman to become pure, after having had communication with a man. “She is pure immediately,” answered Theano, “if the man be her husband; but if he be not her husband, no time will make her so.” *Larcher, from Diogenes Laertius.*

Ablution after such a connection is sanctified by the Mahometan law.—T.

life to attend at the temple of Venus, and prostitute herself ²⁵⁶ to a stranger. Such women as are of superior rank do not omit even this opportunity of separating themselves from their inferiors; these go to the temple in splendid chariots, accompanied by a numerous train of domestics, and place themselves near the entrance. This is the practice with many; whilst the greater part, crowned with garlands, seat themselves in the vestibule; and there are always numbers coming and going. The seats have all of

²⁵⁶ *Prostitute herself.*] — This, as an historical fact, is questioned by some, and by Voltaire in particular; but it is mentioned by Jeremiah, who lived almost two centuries before Herodotus, and by Strabo, who lived long after him. See Baruch, vi. 42.

“The women also with cords about them sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume. But if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken.”

Upon the above Mr. Bryant remarks, that instead of women, it should probably be read virgins; and that this custom was universally kept up wherever the Persian religion prevailed. Strabo is more particular: “Not only,” says he, “the men and maid-servants prostitute themselves, but people of the first fashion devote in the same manner their own daughters. Nor is any body at all scrupulous about cohabiting with a woman who has been thus abused.

Upon the custom itself no comment can be required; Herodotus calls it, what it must appear to every delicate mind, in the highest degree base.

The prostitution of women, considered as a religious institution, was not only practised at Babylon, but at Heliopolis; at Ephraïm, a place betwixt Heliopolis and Biblus; at Sicca Veneria, in Africa, and also in the isle of Cyprus. It was at Ephraïm that Venus was supposed, according to the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, to have first received the embraces of Adonis.—7.

them

them a rope or string annexed to them, by which the stranger may determine his choice. A woman having once taken this situation, is not allowed to return home, till some stranger throws her a piece of money; and leading her to a distance from the temple, enjoys her person. It is usual for the man, when he gives the money, to say, "May the goddess Mylitta be auspicious to thee!" Mylitta being the Assyrian name of Venus. The money given is applied to sacred uses, and must not be refused, however small it may be. The woman, not suffered to make any distinction, is obliged to accompany whoever offers her money. She afterwards makes some conciliatory oblation to the goddess, and returns to her house, never afterwards to be obtained on similar, or on any terms. Such as are eminent for their elegance and beauty do not continue long, but those who are of less engaging appearance, have sometimes been known to remain from three to four years, unable to accomplish the terms of the law. It is to be remarked, that the inhabitants of Cyprus have a similar observance.

CC. In addition to the foregoing account of Babylonian manners, we may observe, that there are three tribes of this people whose only food is fish. They prepare it thus; having dried it in the sun, they beat it very small in a mortar, and afterwards sift it through a piece of fine cloth, they then form it into cakes, or bake it as bread.

CCI. After his conquest of this people, Cyrus
extended

extended his ambitious views to the Massagetæ, a great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river Araxes, to the extreme parts of the East. They are opposite to the Issedonians, and are by some esteemed a Scythian nation.

CCII. Concerning the magnitude of the Araxes, there are various representations; some pronouncing it less, others greater, than the Danube. There are many islands scattered up and down in it, some of which are nearly equal to Lesbos in extent. The people who inhabit these subsist during the summer on such roots as they dig out of the earth, preserving for their winter's provision the ripe produce of their fruit-trees. They have amongst them a tree whose fruit has a most singular property. Assembled round a fire, which they make for this purpose, they throw into the midst of it the above fruit, and the same inebriation is communicated to them from the smell, as the Greeks experience from excess of wine. As they become more exhilarated, they throw on a greater quantity of fruit, and are at length so far transported as to leap up, dance, and sing.—This is what I have heard of the customs of this people. The Araxes, like the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty rivulets, rises among the Matienian hills. It separates itself into forty mouths ²⁵⁷, all of which, except one, lose themselves
in

²⁵⁷ *Forty mouths.*]—What Herodotus says of the Araxes, is in a great measure true of the Volga, which empties itself into the
Caspian

in bogs and marshes, among which a people are said to dwell, who feed upon raw fish, and clothe themselves with the skins of sea-calves. The larger stream of the Araxes continues its even course to the Caspian.

CCIII. The Caspian is an ocean by itself, and communicates with no other. The sea frequented by the Greeks, the Red Sea, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, are all one ocean. The Caspian forms one unconnected sea: a swift-oared boat would in fifteen days measure its length, its extreme breadth in eight. It is bounded on the west by mount Caucasus, the largest and perhaps the highest mountain in the world. Caucasus is inhabited by various nations²⁵⁸, many of whom are said to subsist on what the soil spontaneously produces. They have trees whose leaves possess a most singular property: they beat them to powder, and then steep them in water; this forms a dye²⁵⁹, with which they paint on their garments figures of animals. The impression is so very strong, that it

Caspian by a number of channels, in which many considerable islands are scattered. But this river does not, nor indeed can it come from the Mationian mountains.—*Larcher*.

²⁵⁸ *Various nations.*]—Of these the principal were the Colchians, of the excellent produce and circumstances of whose country a minute and entertaining account is given by Strabo.—*T*.

²⁵⁹ *Forms a dye.*]—By the discovery of cochineal, we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong smell, and a dark cast, as deep as bull's blood.—*Gibben*.

cannot be washed out; it appears to be interwoven in the cloth, and wears as long as the garment. The sexes communicate promiscuously, and in public, like the brutes.

CCIV. Caucasus terminates that part of the Caspian which extends to the west: it is bounded on the east by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which forms the country of the Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus meditated an attack. He was invited and urged by many strong incentives. When he considered the peculiar circumstances of his birth, he believed himself more than human. He reflected also on the prosperity of his arms, and that wherever he had extended his incursions, he had been followed by success and victory.

CCV. The Massagetæ were then governed by a queen, she was a widow, and her name Tomyris. Cyrus sent ambassadors to her with overtures of marriage; the queen, concluding that his real object was the possession, not of her person, but her kingdom, forbade his approach. Cyrus, on finding these measures ineffectual, advanced to the Araxes, openly discovering his hostile designs upon the Massagetæ. He accordingly threw a bridge of boats over the river for the passage of his forces, which he also fortified with turrets.

CCVI. Whilst he was engaged in this difficult undertaking, Tomyris sent by her ambassadors this message: "Sovereign of the Medes, uncertain as
you

you must be of the event, we advise you to desist from your present purpose. Be satisfied with the dominion of your own kingdom, and suffer us to retain what is certainly our own. You will not, however, listen to this salutary counsel, loving any thing rather than peace : If, then, you are really impatient to encounter the Massagetæ, give up your present labour of constructing a bridge, we will retire three days march into our country, and you shall pass over at your leisure ; or, if you had rather receive us in your own territories, do you as much for us." On hearing this, Cyrus called a council of his principal officers, and, laying the matter before them, desired their advice how to act. They were unanimously of opinion, that he should retire, and expect Tomyris in his own dominions.

CCVII. Cræsus the Lydian, who assisted at the meeting, was of a different sentiment, which he defended in this manner : " I have before remarked, O king ! that since Providence has rendered me your captive, it becomes me to exert all my abilities in obviating whatever menaces you with misfortune. I have been instructed in the severe but useful school of adversity. If you were immortal yourself, and commanded an army of immortals, my advice might be justly thought impertinent ; but if you confess yourself a human leader, of forces that are human, it becomes you to remember that sublunary events have a circular motion, and that their revolution does not permit the same man always to be fortunate. Upon this present subject of
debate

debate I dissent from the majority. If you await the enemy in your own dominions, a defeat may chance to lose you all your empire ; the victorious Massagetæ, instead of retreating to their own, will make farther inroad into your territories. If you shall conquer, you will still be a loser by that interval of time and place which must be necessarily employed in the pursuit. I will suppose that, after victory, you will instantly advance into the dominions of Tomyris ; yet can Cyrus the son of Cambyses, without disgrace and infamy, retire one foot of ground from a female adversary ? I would therefore recommend, that having passed over with our army, we proceed on our march till we meet the enemy ; then let us contend for victory and honour. I have been informed the Massagetæ lead a life of the meanest poverty, ignorant of Persian fare, of Persian delicacies. Let these therefore be left behind in our camp : let there be abundance of food prepared, costly viands, and flowing goblets of wine. With these let us leave the less effective of the troops, and with the rest again retire towards the river. If I err not, the foe will be allured by the sight of our luxurious preparations, and afford us a noble occasion of victory and glory."

CCVIII. The result of the debate was, that Cyrus preferred the sentiments of Cræsus : he therefore returned for answer to Tomyris, that he would advance the space into her dominions which she had proposed. She was faithful to her engagement, and retired accordingly : Cyrus then formally delegated his

his authority to his son Cambyfes²⁶⁰; and above all recommended Cræsus to his care, as one whom, if the projected expedition should fail, it would be his interest to distinguish by every possible mark of reverence and honour. He then dismissed them into Persia, and passed the river with his forces.

CCIX. As soon as he had advanced beyond the Araxes into the land of the Massagetæ, he saw in the night this vision: He beheld the eldest son of Hytaspes having wings upon his shoulders; one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe. Hytaspes was the son of Arfamis, of the family of the Achæmenides; the name of his eldest son was Darius, a youth of about twenty, who had been left behind in Persia as not yet of an age for military service. Cyrus awoke, and revolved the matter in his mind: as it appeared to him of serious importance, he sent for Hytaspes to his presence, and, dismissing his attendants, "Hytaspes," said the king, "I will explain to you my reasons, why I am satisfied beyond all dispute that your son is now engaged in seditious designs against me and my authority. The gods, whose favour I enjoy, disclose to me all those events which menace my security. In the night just passed, I beheld your eldest son having wings upon his shoulders, one of which overshadowed Asia, the other Europe; from which

²⁶⁰ *His son Cambyfes.*]—When the Persian kings went on any expedition, it was customary with them to name their successor, in order to prevent the confusion unavoidably arising from their dying without having done this.—*Larcher.*

I draw certain conclusions that he is engaged in acts of treachery against me. Do you therefore return instantly to Persia ; and take care, that when I return victorious from my present expedition, your son may give me a satisfactory explanation of his conduct."

CCX. The strong apprehension of the treachery of Darius induced Cyrus thus to address the father ; but the vision in reality imported that the death of Cyrus was at hand, and that Darius should succeed to his power. " Far be it, Oh king ! " said Hytaspes in reply, " from any man of Persian origin to form conspiracies against his sovereign : if such there be, let immediate death be his portion. You have raised the Persians from slavery to freedom ; from subjects, you have made them masters : if a vision has informed you that my son designs any thing against you, to you and to your disposal I shall deliver him." Hytaspes, after this interview, passed the Araxes on his return to Persia, fully intending to watch over his son, and deliver him to Cyrus.

CCXI. Cyrus, advancing a day's march from the Araxes, followed, in all respects, the counsel of Cræsus ; and leaving behind him the troops upon which he had less dependence, he returned with his choicest men towards the Araxes. A detachment of about the third part of the army of the Massagetæ attacked the Persians whom Cyrus had left, and, after a feeble conflict, put them to the sword. When

the slaughter ceased, they observed the luxuries which had artfully been prepared; and yielding to the allurements, they indulged themselves in feasting and wine, till drunkenness and sleep overcame them. In this situation the Persians attacked them: several were slain, but the greater part were made prisoners, among whom was Spargapises, their leader, the son of Tomyris.

CCXII. As soon as the queen heard of the defeat of her forces, and the capture of her son, she dispatched a messenger to Cyrus with these words: "Cyrus, insatiable as you are of blood, be not too elate with your recent success. When you yourself are overcome with wine, what follies do you not commit? By entering your bodies, it renders your language more insulting. By this poison you have conquered my son, and neither by your prudence nor your valour. I venture a second time to advise what it will be certainly your interest to follow, Restore my son to liberty, and, satisfied with the disgrace you have put upon a third part of the Massagetæ, depart from these realms unhurt. If you will not do this, I swear by the Sun, the great god of the Massagetæ, that, insatiable as you are of blood, I will give you your fill of it ²⁶¹."

CCXIII.

²⁶¹ *Fill of blood.*]—With this story of Cyrus that of the Roman Crassus nearly corresponds. The wealth of Crassus was only to be equalled by his avarice. He was taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians, who poured liquefied gold down

his

CCXIII. These words made but little impression upon Cyrus. The son of Tomyris, when, recovering from his inebriated state, he knew the misfortune which had befallen him, intreated Cyrus to release him from his bonds: he obtained his liberty, and immediately destroyed himself.

CCXIV. On the refusal of Cyrus to listen to her counsel, Tomyris collected all her forces: a battle ensued, and of all the conflicts which ever took place amongst barbarians, this was I believe by far the most obstinately disputed. According to such particulars as I have been able to collect, the engagement began by a shower of arrows poured on both sides, from an interval of some distance; when these were all spent, they fought with their swords and spears, and for a long time neither party gained the smallest advantage: the Massagetæ were at length victorious, the greater part of the Persians were slain, Cyrus himself also fell; and thus terminated a reign of twenty-nine years. When after diligent search his body was found, Tomyris directed his head to be thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, and having insulted and mutilated the dead body, exclaimed, "Survivor and conqueror as I am, thou hast ruined my peace by thy successful stratagem against my son; but I will give thee now, as I threatened, thy fill of blood."—This account of the end of Cyrus seems to me most consistent

his throat, in order, as they said, that he whose thirst of gold could never be satisfied when he was alive, might be filled with it when dead.—T.

with probability, although there are many other and different relations ²⁶².

CCXV. The Massagetæ in their cloaths and food resemble the Scythians: they fight on horseback and on foot, and are both ways formidable. They have spears, arrows, and battle-axes. They make much use both of gold and brass. Their spears, the points of their arrows, and their battle-axes, are made of brass; their helmets, their belts, and their breast-plates are decorated with gold. They bind also a plate of brass on the chests of their horses, whose reins, bits, and other harness, are plated with gold. They use neither iron nor silver, which indeed their country does not produce, though it abounds with gold and brass.

CCXVI. Concerning their manners we have to observe, that though each man marries but one wife, she is considered as common property. For what the Greeks assert in general of the Scythians, is true only of the Massagetæ. When a man of this country desires to have communication with a woman, he hangs up his quiver before his waggon, and enjoys her without fear of interruption. To speak of the number of years to which they live, is impos-

²⁶² *Different relations.*]—Xenophon makes Cyrus die peacefully in his bed; Strabo inclines to this opinion; Lucian makes him live beyond the age of an hundred.—*Larcher*.

The Massagetæ are by some authors confounded with the Scythians. Diodorus Siculus calls Tomyris queen of the Scythians.—*Larcher*.

sible. As soon as any one becomes infirm through age, his assembled relations put him to death²⁶³, boiling along with the body the flesh of sheep and other animals, upon which they feast: esteeming universally this mode of death the happiest. Of those who die from any disease, they never eat; they bury them in the earth, and esteem their fate a matter to be lamented, because they have not lived to be sacrificed. They sow no grain, but entirely subsist upon cattle, and upon the fish which the river Araxes abundantly supplies; milk also constitutes a part of their diet. They sacrifice horses²⁶⁴ to the sun, their only deity, thinking it right to

²⁶³ *Put him to death.*]—Hellenicus, speaking of the Hyperboreans, who live beyond the Rhipæan mountains, observes, that they learn justice, that they do not eat meat, but live entirely on fruit. Those of sixty years they carry out of the town, and put to death. Timæus says, that in Sardinia, when a man has passed the age of seventy years, his sons, in honour of Saturn, and with seeming satisfaction, beat his brains out with clubs, and throw him from some frightful precipice. The inhabitants of Iulis, in the isle of Ceos, oblige those who are past the age of sixty years to drink hemlock, &c.

This custom, so contrary to our manners, will, doubtless, appear fabulous to those who are no friends to antiquity, and whose judgments are regulated entirely by modern manners. It is practised nevertheless at the present day in the kingdom of Aracan: the inhabitants of this country accelerate the death of their friends and relations, when they see them afflicted by a painful old age, or incurable disease; it is with them an act of piety.—*Larcher.*

²⁶⁴ *Sacrifice horses.*]—This was a very ancient custom: it was practised in Persia in the time of Cyrus, and was probably anterior to that prince. Horses were also sacrificed to Neptune,

to offer the swiftest of mortal animals, to the swiftest of immortal beings.

and the deities of the rivers, being precipitated into the sea or into rivers.

Sextus Pompeius threw into the sea horses and live oxen, in honour of Neptune, whose son he professed himself to be.—*Larcher*.

Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum
Ne detur celeri victima tarda deo.—*Ovid*.



HERODOTUS.



BOOK II.

EUTERPE.

CHAP. I.



AMBYSES, the son of Cyrus, by Cassandana, daughter of Phanaspe, succeeded his father. The wife of Cyrus had died before him; he had lamented her loss himself with the sincerest grief, and commanded all his subjects to exhibit public marks of sorrow¹. Cambyſes thus descended, considered the Ionians and Æolians as his slaves by

¹ *Public marks of sorrow.*]—Admetus pays the same tribute of respect to the memory of his deceased wife Alceſtis.

Πᾶσιν δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσιν, ὣν ἐγὼ κρατῶ,
Πένθος γυναικὸς τῆσδε κοινοῦσθαι λέγω,
Κάρα ξυρήκει καὶ πέπλοις μελαγχίμοις.

Euripid. Alceſt. 425.

Which is thus rendered by Potter :

Through my realms of Theſſaly
I give command, that all, in ſolemn grief
For this dear woman, ſhear their locks, and wear
The ſolemn garb of mourning.

T.

right of inheritance:—He undertook therefore an expedition against Ægypt, and assembled an army for this purpose, composed as well of his other subjects, as of those Greeks who acknowledged his authority.

II. Before the reign of their king Psammitichus², the Ægyptians esteemed themselves the most ancient of the human race; but when this prince came to the throne he took considerable pains to investigate the truth of this matter; the result was, that they believe the Phrygians more ancient than themselves, and themselves than the rest of mankind. Whilst Psammitichus was engaged in this enquiry, he contrived the following as the most effectual means of removing his perplexity. He procured two children just born, of humble parentage, and gave them to a shepherd to be brought up among his flocks. He was ordered never to speak before them; to place them in a sequestered hut, and at proper intervals to bring them goats, whose milk they might suck whilst he was attending to other employments. His object was to know what word they would first pronounce articulately. The experiment succeeded to his wish; the shepherd complied with each particular of his directions, and at the end of two years, on his one day opening the door of their apartment, both the

² *Before the reign of their king Psammitichus.*]—It is read indifferently Psammetichus, Psammitichus, and Psammietichus.

According to Justin, the Scythians believed themselves to be more ancient than the Ægyptians.

children extended their hands towards him, as if in supplication, and pronounced the word *Becos*³. It did not at first excite his attention, but on their repeating the same expression whenever he appeared, he related the circumstance to his master, and at his command brought the children to his presence. When Psammitichus had heard them repeat this same word, he endeavoured to discover among what people it was in use: he found it was the Phrygian name for bread⁴. From seriously revolving this incident, the Ægyptians were induced to allow the Phrygians to be of greater antiquity than themselves.

III. That this was really done, I myself heard at Memphis from the priests of Vulcan. The Greeks, among other idle tales, relate, that Psammitichus gave the children to be nursed by women whose tongues were previously cut out. During my residence at Memphis, the same priests informed me of many other curious particulars: but to be better satisfied how well the narrative which I have given on their authority was supported, I made it my business to visit Thebes and Heliopolis⁵, the inhabitants of which latter place are deemed

³ *Becos*.]—These infants, in all probability, pronounced the word *Bec*, the cry of the animals which they imitated, *as being* a termination appropriate to the Greek language.—*Larcher*.

⁴ *Bread*.]—Hipponax, speaking of the people of Cyprus, uses this word as signifying bread.—*Larcher*.

⁵ *Heliopolis*.]—This place was not only celebrated for being in a manner the school of Herodotus: Plato here studied philosophy, and Eudoxus astronomy.—*T*.

deemed the most ingenious of all the Ægyptians. Except to specify the names of their divinities, I shall be unwilling to mention their religious customs, unless my subject demand it; this being a matter concerning which men in general are equally well informed.

IV. In all which they related of human affairs, they were uniform and consistent with each other: they agree that the Ægyptians first defined the measure of the year, which they divided into twelve parts; in this they affirm the stars to have been their guides. Their mode of computation is in my opinion more sagacious than that of the Greeks, who for the sake of adjusting the seasons accurately add every third year an intercalary month. The Ægyptians divide their year into twelve months, giving to each month thirty days: by adding five days to every year they have an uniform revolution of time. The people of this country first invented ⁶ the names of the twelve gods, and from them the Grecians borrowed them ⁷. They were the first also
who

A barbarous Persian has overthrown her temples, a fanatic Arab burnt her books, and one solitary obelisk overlooking her ruins, says to passengers, this once was Heliopolis.—*Savary*.

⁶ *First invented*.—Larcher in a note vindicates the expression of first invented, but this was already done to his hands by Bentley, in his preface to Dissertation on Phalaris.—*T*.

⁷ *Grecians borrowed them*.]—At the same time that Plato confesses that the Grecian mythology was of foreign original, he derives Artemis from a Greek word signifying integrity; poseidon, from *posi*, *desmen*, chains for the feet; Pallas, from *pallein*, to vibrate, &c.—*T*.

who erected altars, shrines, and temples ; and none before them ever engraved the figures of animals on stone ; the truth of all which they sufficiently authenticate. The name of their first king was Menes⁸, in whose reign the whole of Ægypt, except the province of Thebes, was one extended marsh. No part of all that district which is now situate beyond the lake Mœris, was then to be seen, the distance between which lake and the sea is a journey of seven days.

V. The account which they give of their country appears just and reasonable. It must be obvious to the inspection of any one of common sagacity, even though he knew it not before, that the part of Ægypt to which the Greeks now sail formerly constituted a part of the bed of the river⁹ ; which thing may always be observed of all that tract of country beyond the lake, to pass over which would

If the Ægyptian year had consisted of three hundred and sixty-five entire days, the seasons would be far from returning regularly at the same period. After some ages the winter months would be found to return in the spring, and so of the other seasons.—*Larcher*.

⁸ *Menes*.]—Diodorus Siculus agrees with Herodotus in making Menes reign in Ægypt, immediately after the gods and the heroes.—*Larcher*.

⁹ *Bed of the river*.]—This sentiment was adopted by all the ancients, and a great part of the moderns. If it be true, all the country from Memphis to the sea must have been formerly a gulph of the Mediterranean, parallel to the Arabian gulph. The earth must have been raised up by little and little, from a deposit of the mud which the waters of the Nile carry with them.—*Larcher*.

employ

employ a journey of three days, but this the Ægyptians themselves do not assert. Of this fact there exists another proof: if from a vessel bound to Ægypt, the lead be thrown at the distance of a day's sailing from the shore¹⁰, it will come up at the depth

¹⁰ *Day's sailing from the shore.*]—For seven or eight leagues from the land they know by the sounding plummet if they are near Ægypt, as within that distance it brings up the black slimy mud of the Nile, that settles at the bottom of the sea, which is often of great use in navigation, the low land of this country not being seen afar off.—*Pocock*.

I know not whether it has ever before been remarked, but it should seem, from the descriptions of modern travellers, that the approach to Alexandria in Ægypt greatly resembles the approach to Madras in the bay of Bengal.—*T*.

It appears from Norden, that the Nile forms every year new islands in its course, for the possession of which the petty princes inhabiting the banks of the river eagerly contend.—*T*.

The majority of travellers inform us, that upon an average the water usually rises every year to the height of twenty-two cubits. In 1702 it rose to twenty-three cubits four inches; in the year preceding it rose to twenty-two cubits eighteen inches: according to these travellers, the favourable height is from twenty-two to twenty-three cubits; according to Herodotus, from fifteen to sixteen.—The difference is seven.—*Larcher*.

No addition seems to have been made, during the space of five hundred years, to the number of cubits taken notice of by Herodotus. This we learn, not only from the sixteen children that attend the statue of the Nile, but from a medal also of Trajan, where we see the figure of the Nile, with a boy standing upon it, who points to the number sixteen. Fifteen cubits are recorded by the emperor Julian as the height of the Nile's inundation. Three hundred years afterwards the amount was no more than sixteen or seventeen; and at present, notwithstanding the great accumulation of soil, when the river riseth to sixteen cubits the Ægyptians make great rejoicings, and call out, *Wafaa Allah!* God has given all they wanted.—*Pocock*.

Twenty-

depth of eleven fathoms covered with mud; plainly indicating that it was brought there by the water.

VI. According to our limitation of Ægypt, which is from the bay of Plinthene to lake Serbonis, near mount Casius, the whole extent of the coast is sixty *schæni*". It may not be improper to remark, that they who have smaller portions of land, measure them by *orgyia*, they who have larger by *stadia*, such as have considerable tracts by *parasanges*. The *schænus*, which is an Ægyptian measure, used in the mensuration of more extensive do-

Twenty-four cubits is the greatest height to which the Nile was ever known to rise. When our countryman Sandys was there it rose to twenty-three.—7.

The following beautiful description of the time of the Nile's inundation is given by Lucan :

Whene'er the Lion sheds his fires around,
And Cancer burns Syene's parching ground,
Then at the prayer of nations comes the Nile,
And kindly tempers up the mouldering soil;
Nor from the plains the covering god retreats,
Till the rude fervour of the skies abates;
Till Phœbus into milder autumn fades,
And Meroë projects her length'ning shades:
Nor let enquiring sceptics ask the cause—
'Tis Jove's command, and these are nature's laws.

Rowe.

" *Sixty schæni.*]—The Greeks, whose territories were not extensive, measured them by *stadia*; the Persians, whose region was still greater, used *parasanges*. The Ægyptians, whose country was more spacious than Persia, properly so called, applied in their mensuration *schæni*. Herodotus, when he observes that this last is an Ægyptian measure, indirectly informs us that the *stadium* and *parasangis* was not there used.—Larcher.

mains

mains, is equivalent to sixty stadia, as the parafange is to thirty. Agreeably to such mode of computation, the coast of Ægypt towards the sea is in length three thousand six hundred stadia.

VII. From hence inland to Heliopolis¹², the country of Ægypt is a spacious plain, which, though without water, and on a declivity, is a rich and slimy¹³ soil. The distance betwixt Heliopolis and the sea, is nearly the same as from the altar of the twelve deities¹⁴, at Athens, to the shrine of Jupiter Olympus, at Pisa. Whoever will be at the trouble to ascertain this point, will not find the difference to exceed fifteen stadia: the distance from Pisa to Athens wants precisely fifteen stadia of one thousand five hundred, which is the exact number of stadia betwixt Heliopolis and the sea.

VIII. From Heliopolis to the higher parts of

¹² *Heliopolis.*]—Now called Matanea. It was probably the On of the scriptures, and, according to Strabo, celebrated for the worship of the sun. There are but inconsiderable remains of this city.—7.

There were in Ægypt two cities of this name.—7.

¹³ *Rich and slimy.*]—The soil of Ægypt, except what it has received from the overflowings of the Nile, is naturally sandy. It is full of nitre, or salt, which occasions nitrous vapours making the nights cold and dangerous. It is this and the rich quality of the earth, which is the sediment of the water of the Nile, which makes Ægypt so fertile, that sometimes they are obliged to temper the rich soil by bringing sand to it.—Pocock.

¹⁴ *Altar of the twelve deities.*]—This was in the Pythic place of Athens. Pisistratus, son of Hippias the tyrant, dedicated it to the twelve gods when he was archon.—Larcher.

Ægypt

Ægypt¹⁵ the country becomes more narrow, and is confined on one part by a long chain of Arabian mountains, which, from the north, stretch south and south-west, in a regular inclination to the Red Sea. The pyramids of Memphis¹⁶ were built with stones drawn from these mountains, which from hence have a winding direction towards the places we have before described. I have been informed, that to travel along this range of hills, from east to west, which is the extreme length of the country, will employ a space of two months: they add, that the eastern parts abound in aromatics. On that side of Ægypt which lies towards Lybia, there is another steep and sandy mountain, in which certain pyramids have been erected: these extend themselves, like those Arabian hills which stretch towards the south. Thus the country beyond Helio-
polis differs exceedingly from the rest of Ægypt,

¹⁵ *Ægypt.*]—Ægypt, in proportion as it recedes from the Mediterranean, is regularly elevated.—*Larcher.*

¹⁶ *Memphis.*]—If we give credit to some authors, the city of Memphis was situated in the place where at present stands the village of Gize; and I own that this opinion does not want probability. But if we attend to it carefully, we shall find it necessary to strike off a great deal of the grandeur of that ancient capital of Ægypt, or else raise extremely all the plains about it. In effect, Gize does not occupy the half of the space of Old Cairo; and the plains that extend all around never fail to be deluged at the time of the overflowing of the waters of the Nile. Is it credible that they should have built a city so great and famous in a place subject to be under water the half of the year? still less can it be imagined, that the ancient authors should have forgotten so particular a circumstance.—*Norden.*

The description here given by Herodotus is confirmed by Norden, and by Savary.—*V.*

and

and may be passed in a journey of four days. The intermediate space betwixt these mountains is an open plain, in its narrowest part not more in extent than two hundred stadia, measuring from the Arabian to what is called the Lybian mountain, from whence Ægypt becomes again wider.

IX. From Heliopolis to Thebes ¹⁷ is a voyage of about nine days, or a space of four thousand eight hundred and sixty stadia, equivalent to eighty-one schæni. I have before observed, that the length of the Ægyptian coast is three thousand six hundred stadia; from the coast to Thebes is six thousand one hundred and

¹⁷ *Thebes.*]—According to Norden, ancient Thebes was probably in the place where Luxor and Carnac now stand. A better idea of the magnificence and extent of Thebes cannot perhaps be given, than by the following lines translated from Homer:

Not all proud Thebes' unrivall'd walls contain,
The world's great empress on th' Ægyptian plain,
That spreads her conquells o'er a thousand states,
And pours her heroes through a hundred gates;
Two hundred horsemen, and two hundred cars,
From each wide portal issuing to the wars.—*Pope.*

Diodorus Siculus and Strabo both speak in the most exalted terms of its opulence and power. "Never was there a city," observes the former of these writers, "which received so many offerings in silver, gold, ivory, colossal statues, and obelisks." There were in particular four temples greatly admired. Near this place stood the celebrated vocal statue of Memnon. Its eastern part only was called Diospolis, according to Pocock. This writer, without citing his authority, remarks, that in the opinion of some writers, Thebes was the Sheba of the scriptures; and that the Greeks, having no way of writing this word, altered it to Thebai.—*T.*

twenty stadia; from Thebes to Elephantine¹⁸ eight hundred and twenty.

X. The greater part of the country described above, as I was informed by the priests, (and my own observation induced me to be of the same opinion) has been a gradual acquisition¹⁹ to the inhabitants. The country above Memphis, between the hills before mentioned, seems formerly to have been an arm of the sea, and is not unlike the region about Ilium, Teuthrania, Ephesus, and the plain of the Meander, if we may be allowed to compare small things with great. It must certainly be allowed that none of the streams which water the above country may in depth or in magnitude compare with any one of the five arms of the Nile. I could mention other rivers, which, though inferior to the Nile, have produced many wonderful effects; of these, the river Achelous²⁰ is by no means the least considerable. This flows through Acarnania, and, losing itself in the sea which washes the

¹⁸ *Elephantine*]—is now called Ell-Sag. In this place was a temple of Cnuphis, and a nilometer.—*T.*

When Herodotus speaks of the length of Ægypt, he reckons from the Sebennitic mouth.—*Larcher.*

¹⁹ *Acquisition.*]—This remark of Herodotus is confirmed by Arrian and by Pliny.—*T.*

²⁰ *Achelous.*]—This river, from its violence and rapidity, was anciently called Thoas. Homer calls it the king of rivers. Its present name is Aspro Potamø: Hercules, by checking the inundations of this river by mounds, was said to have broken off one of his horns; whence the cornucopia.—*F.*

the Echinades²¹, has connected one half of those islands with the continent.

XI. In Arabia, at no great distance from Ægypt, there is a long but narrow bay, diverging from the Red Sea, which I shall more minutely describe. Its extreme length, from the straits where it commences to where it communicates with the main, will employ a bark with oars a voyage of forty days, but its breadth in the widest parts may be sailed over in half a day. In this bay the tide daily ebbs and flows; and I conceive that Ægypt itself was a gulph formerly of similar appearance, and that, issuing from the Northern Ocean, it extended itself towards Æthiopia; in the same manner the Arabian one so described, rising in the south, flowed towards

The sea and the continent may be considered as two great empires, whose places are fixed, but which sometimes dispute the possession of some of the smaller adjacent countries. Sometimes the sea is compelled to contract its limits by the mud and the sands which the rivers force along with them; sometimes these limits are extended by the action of the waters of the ocean.—*Voyage du jeune Anacharsis.*

²¹ *Echinades.*]—These islands, according to the old Greek historians, are so close upon the coast of Elis, that many of them had been joined to it by means of the Achelous, which still continues to connect them with the continent, by the rubbish which that river deposits at its mouth, as I have had an opportunity of observing.—*Wood on Homer.*

The above note from Wood I have introduced principally with the view of refuting his gross mistake. Achelous is a river of Acarnania, and the Echinades close to that coast, and distant from Elis a considerable space. No descent of earth from Achelous could possibly join them to any thing but the main land; whereas Elis is in the Peloponnese.—*T.*

Syria;

Syria; and that the two were only separated from each other by a small neck of land. If the Nile should by any means have an issue into the Arabian gulph, in the course of twenty thousand years it might be totally choaked up with earth brought there by the passage of the river. I am of opinion, that this might take place even within ten thousand years: why then might not a gulph still greater than this be choaked up with mud in the space of time which has passed before our age, by a stream so great and powerful as the Nile?

XII. All, therefore, that I heard from the natives concerning Ægypt, was confirmed by my own observations. I remarked also, that this country gains upon the region which it joins; that shells²² are found

²² *Shells.*]—It is very certain that shells are found upon the mountains of Ægypt, but this by no means proves the existence of the Ægyptian gulph. Shells also are found upon mountains much higher than those of Ægypt, in Europe, Asia, and America. This only proves that all those regions have in part been covered by the waters of the sea, some at one time and some at another. I say in part, because it is certain, from the observation of the most skilful naturalists, that the highest mountains have not been covered with water. These, in the times of such general inundations, appeared like so many islands.—*Larcher.*

That the deluge was not universal, but to be understood as confined to the inhabitants of Palestine, was the opinion of many ancient writers, and in particular of Josephus, see his second book against Appion, where he speaks of Berofus. In confirmation of the above opinion of Josephus, I have somewhere seen the following verse from Genesis adduced. “And the dove came in unto him in the evening, and lo, in her mouth was an olive

found upon the mountains; and that an acrid matter²³ exudes from the soil, which has proved injurious even to the pyramids²⁴; and that the only mountain

leaf pluckt off." This, it has been urged, could not possibly be a leaf of an olive-tree which, for so great a length of time had been immersed in water, and probably buried under mud and other substances. It is more reasonable to suppose, that it was gathered from some tree in the more elevated parts of Asia, to which the inundation of Noah had not extended. As to the circumstance of shells being frequently found on the summits of mountains, many naturalists are of opinion that this may have been produced by earthquakes, to which cause also the deluge has by some been ascribed. Our countryman, Woodward, considers this fact of shells being found on mountains, as an uncontrollable proof of a deluge; but this opinion is contradicted by Linnaeus, in his System of Nature, who says, that no certain marks of a deluge are any where to be found; his words are, "*Cataclysmi universalis certa rudera ego nondum attigi, quousque penetra- vi.*" In return, we have recently been informed by Sir William Jones, that in the oldest mythological books of Indostan there is a description of the deluge, nearly corresponding with that of the scriptures. *Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.—T.*

²³ *Acrid matter.*]—In every part of Ægypt, on digging, a brackish water is found, containing natrum, marine salt, and a little nitre. Even when the gardens are overflowed for the sake of watering them, the surface of the ground, after the evaporation and absorption of the water, appears glazed over with salt.—*Volney.*

²⁴ *Injurious to the pyramids.*]—Mr. Norden informs us, that the stones of the great pyramid on the north side are rotten; but he assigns for this phenomenon no cause.—*T.*

It appears from experiment, that the water of the Nile leaves a precipitation of nitre; and all travellers, of all ages, make mention of the nitrous quality of the atmosphere. To this cause Pocock and Savary agree in imputing those diseases of the eyes, so common and so fatal in Ægypt. Eight thousand blind people, according to this latter author, are decently maintained

mountain in Egypt which produces sand is the one situate above Memphis. Neither does Ægypt possess the smallest resemblance to Arabia, on which it borders, nor to Lybia and Syria, for the sea-coast of Arabia is possessed by Syrians. It has a black and crumbling soil, composed of such substances as the river in its course brings down from Æthiopia. The soil of Africa we know to be red and sandy; and the earth, both of Arabia and Syria, is strong and mixed with clay.

XIII. The information of the priests confirmed the account which I have already given of this country. In the reign of Mæris, as soon as the river rose to eight cubits, all the lands above Memphis were overflowed; since which a period of about nine hundred years has elapsed: but at present, unless the river rises to sixteen²⁵, or at least fifteen cubits, its waters do not reach those lands.

If the ground should continue to elevate itself as it has hitherto done, by the river's receding from it, the Ægyptians below the lake Mæris, and those who inhabit the Delta, will be reduced to the same perplexity which they themselves affirm, menaces the Greeks. For as they understand that Greece is fertilized and refreshed by rain, and not by rivers like their own, they predict that the inhabitants,

tained in the great mosque of Grand Cairo. It may seem a little remarkable, that of this quality and probable effect of the air, Herodotus should make no mention.—*T.*

²⁵ *To sixteen.*]—See remarks on chapter 5th.—*T.*

trusting to their usual supplies, will probably suffer²⁶ the miseries of famine; meaning, that as they have no resource, and only such water as the clouds supply, they must inevitably perish if disappointed of rain at the proper seasons.

XIV. Such being the not unreasonable prejudice of the Ægyptians with respect to Greece, let us enquire how they themselves are circumstanced. If, as I before remarked, the country below Memphis, which is that where the water has receded, should progressively from the same cause continue to extend itself, the Ægyptians who inhabit it, might have still juster apprehensions of suffering from famine. For in that case their lands, which are never fertilized by rain²⁷, could not receive benefit from

²⁶ *Probably suffer.*]—It follows, therefore, that the Ægyptians had no knowledge of those seven years of famine which afflicted their country during the administration of Joseph. These, however, were the more remarkable, as occasioning an entire change in the constitution of the state. The people at first gave their gold and their silver to the prince in exchange for corn; they afterwards resigned to him their flocks and their herds, and ultimately became his slaves.—*Larcher*.

²⁷ *By rain.*]—In Upper Ægypt they have sometimes a little rain; and I was told that in eight years it had been known to rain but twice very hard for about half an hour.—*Pocock*.

Maillet quotes Pliny, as affirming there were no rains in Ægypt; he however affirms that he had seen it rain there several times. Pitts, an eye-witness, confirms Maillet's account of the rain of Ægypt, assuring us that when he was at Cairo it rained to that degree, that having no kennels in the streets to carry off the water, it was ankle deep, and in some places half way up the leg.

from the overflowings of the river. The people who possess that district, of all mankind, and even of all the Ægyptians, enjoy the fruits of the earth with the smallest labour. They have no occasion for the process nor the instruments of agriculture usual and necessary in other countries. As soon as the river has spread itself over their lands, and returned to its bed, each man scatters the seed over his ground, and waits patiently for the harvest, without any other care than that of turning some swine²⁸ into the

leg. When the sacred writer therefore says (Zech. xiv. 11) that Ægypt has no rain, he must be understood in a mollified sense. *Observations on Passages of Scripture.*

It rains but seldom in Ægypt, the natural cause of which in the inland parts, is, I imagine, the dryness of the sands, which do not afford a sufficient moisture for forming clouds, and descending in rains.—*Norden.*

Rain is more frequent at Alexandria and Rosetta, than at Cairo, and at Cairo than at Mineah, and is almost a prodigy at Djirdha.

When rain falls in Ægypt, there is a general joy amongst the people. They assemble together in the streets, they sing, are all in motion, and shout, *Ya Allah, Ya Mobarek!*—Oh God, Oh Blessed.—*Volney.*

The earth burnt up with the violent fervour, never refreshed with rain, which here falls rarely, and then only in the winter.—*Sandys.*

²⁸ *Swine.*]—Plutarch, Eudoxus, and Pliny relate the same fact. Valenaer does not hesitate to consider it a fable invented by Herodotus; and the sagacious Wesseling seems to be of the same opinion, though he has not rejected the expression. Gale, not thinking swine adapted to tread down the grain, has substituted oxen, because in Hesychius and Phavorinus, the word *us* seems to signify an ox. They are at present made use of in some of our provinces, to find out troubles, with a kind of muz-

the fields to tread down the grain. These are at the proper season again let loose to shake the corn from the ear, which is then gathered.

XV. If we follow the tradition of the Ionians, it will appear that all which may be properly denominated Ægypt is limited to the Delta. This region, from the watch-tower erected by Perseus, extends along the coast to the salt-pits of Pelusium, to the length of forty schani. From the coast inland it stretches to the city of Cercafora²⁹, where

zle to prevent their devouring them. My own opinion on this matter is, that Herodotus is mistaken only with regard to the time when they were admitted into the fields. It was probably before the corn was sown, that they might eat the roots of the aquatic plants, which might prove of injury to the grain.—*See Diodorus Siculus.*

It has been objected, that the Ægyptians considered swine as unclean animals, and that therefore probably they had not a sufficient number of them for the purposes here specified. To this I reply, that as they sacrificed them at the time of every full moon to the moon and to Bacchus, they had probably a great abundance of these animals.—*Larcher.*

I dare assert, by what I have seen, that there is scarce a country where the land has greater need of culture, than in Ægypt. I must own that in the Delta, which is more frequented and more cultivated, the mechanical contrivances are more plain and simple than what you will find higher up in the country.—*Norden.*

They spread out the corn when reaped, and an ox draws a machine about on it, which, together with the treading of the ox, separates the grain from the straw, and cuts the straw.—*Pocock.*

²⁹ Cercafora.]—Concerning the etymology of this place, consult Bryant, vol. i. 357.—*T.*

the Nile divides itself into two branches, one of which is termed Pelusium, the other Canopus. Of the rest of Ægypt, they affirm that part of it belongs to Lybia, and part to Arabia, which if it be true we shall be obliged to conclude that formerly the Ægyptians had no country at all. The Delta, as they assert themselves, and as I myself was convinced by observation, is still liable to be overflowed, and was formerly covered with water³⁰. Under these circumstances, their curiosity to examine whether they were the most ancient of the human race³¹ must seem preposterous, and their experiment of the two children to discover what language they should first speak, was absurd and unnecessary. For my own part I am of opinion, that the Ægyptians did not commence their origin with the Delta, but from the first existence of the human race. That as their country became more extensive, some remained in their primitive places of residence, whilst others migrated to a lower situation. Hence it was that Thebes, comprizing a tract of land

³⁰ *Covered with water.*]—Diodorus Siculus is also of opinion that Egypt formerly was one extended sea, and that the land was formed by the mud brought down from Æthiopia by the Nile.—*T.*

³¹ *Ancient of the human race.*]—Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the Æthiopians consider the Ægyptians as one of their colonies, at the head of which was Osiris. He observes also in another place, that the inhabitants of the Thebaid consider themselves as the most ancient of mankind. This historian, doubtless, has a view to the traditions of the two people, without giving us his own opinion,—*Larcher.*

which is six thousand one hundred and twenty stadia in circumference, went formerly under the name of Ægypt.

XVI. If our opinion concerning Ægypt be true, that of the Ionians must certainly be wrong; if on the contrary the Ionians are right in their conjecture, it will not be difficult to prove the Greeks, not excepting the Ionians, mistaken in their account of the earth; of which they affirm that Europe, Asia, and Lybia constitute the proper division: but if the Delta belong neither to Asia nor Africa, it makes by itself necessarily a fourth and distinct portion of the globe; for, according to the above mode of reasoning, the Nile cannot completely form the division between Asia and Africa; at the extremity of the Delta it is separated into two branches, and the country lying between, cannot properly belong either to Asia or Africa.

XVII. Avoiding further comment upon the sentiments of the Ionians, I myself am of opinion, that all the tract of country inhabited by Ægyptians is properly termed Ægypt, as the countries inhabited by the Cilicians and Assyrians are respectively denominated Cilicia and Assyria. And I must think that the land of Ægypt alone constitutes the natural and proper limits of Asia and Africa. If we adhere to the opinion received amongst the Greeks, we are to consider the whole of Ægypt commencing from the cataract, and the city Elephantine as divided into two parts, with distinct appellations,
the

the one belonging to Lybia, the other to Asia; the Nile, beginning at the cataract, flows through the centre of Ægypt, and empties itself into the sea. As far as the city Cercafora it proceeds in one undivided channel, but it there separates itself into three branches³²: that which directs itself towards the east

³² *Three branches.*]—This river, whose source has not yet been explored, comes by one single channel from Æthiopia to the point of the Delta; arrived here it separates itself into three principal branches: of these one takes a direction towards the east, and is called the Pelusian channel; a second proceeds northward, and is called the Sebennitic branch; the third flows towards the west, and takes the name of the Canopic branch. The Sebennitic arm is divided into two others, the Saitic and the Mendesian: the Saitic is between the Bolbitine, which is an artificial branch, and the Sebennitic. The Bucolic also is the production of the inhabitants, and flows betwixt the Sebennitic, from which it proceeds, and the Mendesian. Thus the seven branches of the Nile, from east to west, are the Pelusian, the Mendesian, the Bucolic, the Sebennitic, the Saitic, the Bolbitine, and the Canopic.—Such is the account of Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

The different appearances which the Nile exhibits in its course is beautifully described by Lucan, and is thus not unskilfully translated by Rowe:

Who that beholds thee, Nile, thus gently flow,
With scarce a wrinkle on thy glassy brow,
Can guess thy rage when rocks resist thy force,
And hurl thee headlong in thy downward course;
When sporting cataracts thy torrent pour,
And nations tremble at the deaf'ning rear;
When thy proud waves with indignation rise,
And dash their foamy fury to the skies?

The Arabian account of the Nile and its different divisions, may be found in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of Herbelot, which
the

east is called the Pelusian mouth, the Canopic inclines to the west; the third in one continued line meets the point of the Delta, which dividing in two,⁹ it finally pours itself into the sea; this arm is equally celebrated, and not inferior in the depth of its waters, it is called the Sebennitic mouth, and this again divides itself into two branches; one is called the Saitic, and one the Mendesian channel; both empty themselves into the sea. There are two other mouths, the Bolbitinian and the Bucolic; these are not produced by nature, but by art.

XVIII. My opinion concerning the extent of Ægypt, receives farther confirmation from the oracle of Ammon, of which however I had no knowledge, till my mind was already satisfied on the subject. The people of Marea and Apis, who inhabit the borders of Libya, thinking themselves to be not Ægyptians but Libyans, both of them disliked the religious ceremonies of the country, and that particular restriction which did not permit them to kill heifers for food: they sent therefore with this impression to Ammon, declaring that they had no connection with the Ægyptians; for they lived beyond the Delta, had their opinions and prejudices as distinct as possible, and wished to have no restriction in the article of food. The deity signified his disapprobation of their conduct, and intimated that every part of that region which

the curious reader will do well to compare with the description given by Herodotus, and that of modern travellers, particularly of Pocock, Norden, Volney, and Savary.—7.

was watered by the Nile, was strictly to be denominated *Ægypt*; and that all who dwelt below Elephantine, and drank of this stream³³, were *Ægyptians*.

XIX. In its more extensive inundations, the Nile does not overflow the Delta only, but part of that territory which is called Libyan, and sometimes the Arabian frontier, and extends about the space of two days journey on each side, speaking on an average. Of the nature of this river³⁴ I could obtain no certain information, from the priests or from others. It was nevertheless my particular desire to know why the Nile, beginning at the summer solstice³⁵, continues gradually to rise for the

³³ *Drank of this stream.*]—The ancients, says Strabo, confined the appellation of *Ægypt* to the inhabited country watered by the Nile, from the environs of Syene to the sea.

³⁴ *This river.*]—That the Nile was considered by the natives as a tutelar deity, appears from the following passages of Tibullus and of Statius.

Nile pater, quamam possum te dicere causa
 Aut quibus in terris acculuisse caput?
 Te propter, nullos tellus tua postulat imbres
 Arida nec pluris supplicat herba Jovi,
 Te canit atque faum pubes miratur Osirin
 Barbara, Memphitem plangere docta bovem.

Tibullus.

See also Statius, Theb. 4.

Tu nunc ventis pluvioque rogaris
 Pro Jove. T.

³⁵ *Summer solstice.*]—The inundation commences regularly about

the space of an hundred days, after which for the same space it as gradually recedes, remaining throughout the winter, and till the return of the summer solstice, in its former low and quiescent state: but all my inquiries of the inhabitants proved ineffectual, and I was unable to learn why the Nile was thus distinguished in its properties from other streams. I was equally unsuccessful in my wishes to be informed why this river alone, waisted no breeze from its surface.

XX. From a desire of gaining a reputation for sagacity, this subject has employed the attention of many among the Greeks. There have been three different modes³⁶ of explaining it, two of which merit no farther attention than barely to be mentioned; one of them affirms the increase of the Nile to be owing to the Etesian winds, which by blowing in an opposite direction, impede the river's entrance to the sea. But it has often happened that no winds have blown from this quarter, and the phenomenon of the Nile has still been the same. It may also be remarked, that were this the real

about the month of July, or three weeks after the rains have begun to fall in Æthiopia.—*Larcher*.

The Nile is not the only river which increases its waters in the summer season; it has this property in common with many others, both of Africa and India.—*Larcher*.

³⁶ *Three different modes*]—Diodorus Siculus allows only two of these hypotheses to be Grecian; the one by Thales, the other by Anaxagoras; the third, concerning the ocean, he makes of Egyptian extraction amongst the priests.—*Norden*.

cause,

cause, the same events would happen to other rivers, whose currents are opposed to the Etesian winds ³⁷, which, indeed, as having a less body of waters, and a weaker current, would be capable of still less resistance: but there are many streams, both in Syria and Africa, none of which exhibit the same appearances with the Nile.

XXI. The second opinion ³⁸ is still less agreeable to reason, though more calculated to excite

³⁷ *Etesian winds.*]—Of these winds the following account is given by Pliny.—In the hottest part of the summer the dog-star rises; this is usually the fifteenth day preceding the calends of August, when the sun enters Leo. About eight days before this star rises, the north-east winds rise, which the Greeks call *Prodromi* (fore-runners): about two days afterwards these winds increase in force, and continue for the space of forty days; these are called the Etesian winds.—*T.*

The most satisfactory explanation of the inundation of the Nile is given by Pocock. “It must be supposed,” he observes, “that the north winds are the cause of its overflow, which begin to blow about the latter end of May, and drive the clouds formed by the vapours of the Mediterranean southward, as far as the mountains of *Æthiopia*, which stopping their course, they condense and fall down in violent rains. It is said, that at this time not only men from their reason, but the wild beasts by a sort of instinct, leave the mountains. The wind, which is the cause of the rise of the Nile, driving the clouds against those hills, is also the cause of it in another respect, as it drives in the water from the sea, and keeps back the waters of the river, in such a manner as to raise the waters above.” For further particulars on this curious subject, see Pocock.—*T.*

³⁸ *The second opinion.*]—This second was the opinion of *Euthymenes* of *Marseilles*. According to *Diodorus Siculus* it was the prevailing sentiment of the *Ægyptian* priests.—*T.*

wonder. This affirms, that the Nile has these qualities, as flowing from the Ocean, which entirely surrounds the earth.

XXII. The third opinion, though more plausible in appearance, is still more false in reality. It simply intimates, that the body of the Nile is formed from the dissolution of snow, which coming from Libya through the regions of Æthiopia, discharges itself upon Ægypt. But how can this river, descending from a very warm to a much colder climate, be possibly composed of melted snow? There are many other reasons concurring to satisfy any person of good understanding, that this opinion is contrary to fact. The first and the strongest argument may be drawn from the winds, which are in these regions invariably hot: it may also be observed, that rain and ice are here entirely unknown³⁹. Now if in five days⁴⁰ after a fall of snow it must necessarily rain, which is indisputably the case, it follows, that if there were snow in those

³⁹ *Rain and ice are here entirely unknown.*]—Nonnus reports, in the history of his embassy, that during the period when the Nile inundates Ægypt, there are very violent storms in the different parts of Æthiopia. The atmosphere is exceedingly cloudy, and the rains fall in such torrents as to inundate the country.

The Portuguese missionaries inform us, that from June to September there does not pass a day in Abyssinia without rain, and that the Nile receives all the rivers, streams, and torrents, which fall from the mountains.—*Larcher*.

⁴⁰ *If in five days.*]—Herodotus had probably remarked, that at Halicarnassus or at Thurium, where he lived, snow was in the space of a few days succeeded by rain.—*Wesseling*.

countries, there would certainly be rain. The third proof is taken from the colour of the natives, who from excessive heat are universally black; moreover, the kites and the swallows are never known to migrate⁴¹ from this country: the cranes also, flying from the severity of a Scythian winter, pass that cold season here. If therefore it snowed although but little in those places through which the Nile passes, or in those where it takes its rise, reason demonstrates that none of the above-mentioned circumstances could possibly happen.

XXIII. The argument which attributes to the ocean⁴² these phænomena of the Nile, seems rather to partake of fable, than of truth or sense. For my own part, I know no river of the name of Oceanus; and am inclined to believe that Homer, or some

⁴¹ *Never known to migrate.*]—The kites and swallows of those regions through which the Nile flows continue there throughout the year without injury: differing in this respect from those of our climate, it may be reasonably concluded that those regions are of a warm temperature.—*Rziske.*

⁴² *Ocean.*]—Larcher refers to the circumstance of Homer's mentioning the rising and setting of the sun in the ocean, as a proof of his excelling Herodotus in the science of geography. Wood is of a very different opinion: "Upon further consideration," says Mr. Wood, "I was induced to think that Homer's account of the ocean, upon which so much of his geographical science is founded, will, if rightly understood, rather convince us of his ignorance on that head, and that the ocean in his time had a very different meaning from that which it now conveys; nor am I surprized that so much later Herodotus should treat this idea of an ocean where the sun rises, as a poetical fiction. See Wood farther on this subject, p. 48, 50, &c.—*T.*

other poet of former times, first invented and afterwards introduced it in his compositions.

XXIV. But as I have mentioned the preceding opinions only to censure and confute them, I may be expected perhaps to give my own sentiments on this intricate subject.—It is my opinion that the Nile overflows⁴³ in the summer season, because in the winter the sun, driven by the storms from his usual course, ascends into the higher regions of the air above Libya. My reason may be explained without difficulty; for it may be easily supposed, that to whatever region this power more nearly approaches, the rivers and streams of that country will be proportionably dried up and diminished.

XXV. If I were to go more at length into the argument, I should say that the whole is occasioned by the sun's passage through the higher parts of Libya. For as the air is invariably serene, and the heat always tempered by cooling breezes, the sun acts there as it does in the summer season, when his place is in the centre of the heavens. The solar rays absorb the aqueous particles, which their influence forcibly elevates into the

⁴³ *Nile overflows* }—This explanation of the overflowing of the Nile in the summer, which seemed probable to Herodotus, is not only obscure but absurd, not to say false. This is sufficiently proved by Aristides, in his oration on the causes of the increase of the Nile.—*Reiske*.

This hypothesis of Herodotus is completely refuted by Dioscorus Siculus, Book ii. 19, 20, 24.—*T*.

higher regions, here they are received, separated, and dispersed by the winds. And it may be observed, that the south and south-west, which are the most common winds in this quarter, are of all others most frequently attended with rain : it does not however appear to me, that the sun remits all the water which he every year absorbs from the Nile, some is probably withheld. As winter disappears he returns to the middle place of the heavens, and again by evaporation draws to him the waters of the rivers, all of which are then found considerably encreased by the rains, and rising to their extreme heights. But in summer, from the want of rain, and from the attractive power of the sun, they are again reduced : but the Nile is differently circumstanced, it never has the benefit of rains, whilst it is constantly acted upon by the sun ; a sufficient reason why it should in the winter season be proportionably lower than in summer. In winter the Nile alone ⁴⁴ is diminished by the influence of the sun, which in summer attracts the water of the rivers indiscriminately ; I impute therefore to the sun the remarkable properties of the Nile.

XXVI. To the same cause is to be ascribed, as

⁴⁴ *Nile alone.*]—If the sun attracted moisture from the Nile during the winter season, it would do the same with respect to the other rivers of Libya, and in like manner diminish the force of their currents. As this is not the fact, the reasoning of this author falls to the ground. The rivers of Greece are increased during the winter, not on account of their distance from the sun, but from the frequency of the rains.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

I suppose, the state of the air in that country, which from the effect of the sun is always extremely rarefied, so that in the higher parts of Africa there prevails an eternal summer. If it were possible to produce a change in the seasons, and to place the regions of the north in those of the south, and those of the south in the north, the sun, driven from his place by the storms of the north, would doubtless affect the higher parts of Europe, as it now does those of Libya. It would also, I imagine, then act upon the waters of the Ister, as it now does on those of the Nile.

XXVII. That no breeze⁴⁵ blows from the surface of the river, may I think be thus accounted for:—Where the air is in a very warm and rarefied state, wind can hardly be expected, this generally rising in places which are cold. Upon this subject I shall attempt no further illustration, but leave it in the state in which it has so long remained.

⁴⁵ *No breeze.*]—An immense body of water, from which no breeze is exhaled, naturally excites an idea of pestilence and putridity. The waters of the Nile, on the contrary, are not only wholesome but extremely delicious. Maillet informs us, that the Ægyptians are so fond of it, that they endeavour to procure an artificial thirst in order to drink the more of it. Of this acknowledged excellence of the waters of the Nile, Mr. Harmer avails himself to explain a passage in Exodus: “The Ægyptians shall loath to drink of the water of the river:”—that is, they shall loath to drink of that water of which they were formerly so fond. This may to some perhaps appear forced, but it is certainly ingenious.—T.

XXVIII. In all my intercourse with Ægyptians, Lybians, and Greeks, I have only met with one person who pretended to have any knowledge of the sources of the Nile ⁴⁶. This was the priest who had the care of the sacred treasures in the temple of Minerva, at Sais. He assured me, that on this subject he possessed the most unquestionable intelligence, though his assertions never obtained my serious confidence. He informed me, that betwixt Syene, a city of the Thebais, and Elephantine, there were two mountains, respectively terminating in an acute summit: the name of the one was Crophi, of the other Mophi. He affirmed, that the sources of the Nile, which were fountains of unfathomable depth, flowed from the centres of these mountains; that one of these streams divided Ægypt, and directed its course to the north; the other in like manner flowed towards the south, through Æthiopia. To confirm his assertion, that those springs were unfathomable, he told me, that Psammetichus, sovereign of the country, had ascertained it by experiment; he let down a rope of the length of several thousand orgyæ, but could find no

⁴⁶ *Sources of the Nile.*]—Much as has been written on the subject of the sources of the Nile, it is still involved in obscurity and darkness. The world are taught to expect some illustrations on this head from the promised publication of Mr. Bruce, who penetrated into the interior parts of Abyssinia; and much may be reasonably hoped from the spirit and liberality which has induced some individuals amongst us to patronize an expedition to Africa, of which the investigation of the sources of the Nile is one avowed object.—T.

bottom. This was the priest's information, on the truth of which ⁴⁷ I presume not to determine. If such an experiment was really made, there might perhaps in these springs be certain vortices, occasioned by the reverberation of the water from the mountains, of force sufficient to buoy up the sounding-line, and prevent its reaching the bottom.

XXIX. Any other intelligence than the above I was not able to procure, though I so far carried my enquiry, that, with the view of making observation, I proceeded myself to Elephantine: of the parts which lie beyond that city I can only speak from the information of others. Beyond Elephantine this country becomes rugged; in advancing up the stream it will be necessary to hale the vessel on each side by a rope, such as is used for oxen. If this should give way, the impetuosity of the stream forces the vessel violently back again. To this place from Elephantine is a four days voyage; and here, like the Meander, the Nile becomes winding, and for the space of twelve scheni there is no mode of proceeding but that above mentioned. Afterwards you come to a wide and spacious plain, and meet an island which stands in the centre of the river, and is called Tachompso. The higher part

⁴⁷ *On the truth of which.*]—Herodotus could not have told us more explicitly that he disbelieved the whole of this narrative. On this occasion Strabo speaks contemptuously of Herodotus, as a retailer of fables. But the geographer had not always so had an opinion of him, for he frequently copies him without acknowledging it.—*Larcher*.

beyond Elephantine is possessed by the Æthiopians, who also inhabit half of this island, the other half belongs to Ægyptians. In the vicinity of the island is an extensive lake, near which some Æthiopian shepherds reside; passing over this, you again enter into a channel of the Nile, which flows into the above lake. Beyond this ⁴³ it is necessary, for the space of about forty days, to travel on the banks of the river, which is here so impeded with rocks, as to render the passage in a vessel impossible. At the end of these forty days the traveller enters a second vessel, and after a voyage of twelve days will arrive at Meroe ⁴⁹, a very considerable town, and as some say the capital of the rest of Æthiopia. The inhabitants pay divine honours to Jupiter and Bacchus ⁵⁰ only, but

⁴³ *Beyond this, &c.*—This passage is mentioned by Longinus in terms of admiration.—*T.*

The above is also imitated by Lucian, in his Essay on Writing True History.—Having passed these islands, you will come to a great continent, &c.—*Larcher.*

⁴⁹ *Meroe.*—The jesuit fathers, who resided long in that country, were of opinion that the kingdom of Gejam in Abyssinia was the ancient Meroe; this is disputed by Ludolf, and positively denied by Vossius. Father Lobo, in discussing this subject, enumerates the different opinions, and concludes with saying, that the ancients knew so very little of that part of Æthiopia, and have spoken so variously and so confusedly about Meroe, that as much may be said in favour of its being the modern kingdom of Gejam, as against it.—*T.*

⁵⁰ *Jupiter and Bacchus.*—Strabo, in describing the manners of the Æthiopians, makes no mention of either Jupiter or Bacchus. Every thing, therefore, must have been changed from the age of Herodotus to that of Strabo, or these two authors must have received very different impressions with respect to the two countries.—*Larcher.*

these they worship with the extremeſt veneration. At this place is an oracle of Jupiter, whoſe declarations, with the moſt implicit obedience, they permit to regulate all their martial expeditions.

XXX. Leaving this city at about the ſame diſtance as from hence to Elephantine, your bark will arrive at the country of the Automoli, who are alſo known by the name of Aſinach. This word, tranſlated into our language, ſignifies thoſe who ſtand on the left-hand of the ſovereign. This people, to the amount of two hundred and forty thouſand individuals, were formerly Ægyptian warriors, and migrated to theſe parts of Æthiopia on the following occaſion : In the reign of Pſammetichus they were by his command ſtationed in different places ; ſome were appointed for the defence of Elephantine againſt the Æthiopians, ſome at the Peluſian Daphne, others were detached to prevent the incurſions of the Arabians and Aſſyrians ; and to awe Lybia there was a garrifon alſo at Marea : at this preſent period the military ſtations are regulated by the Perſians, as they were under king Pſammetichus ; for there are Perſian garrifons now ſtationed at Elephantine and Daphne. When theſe Ægyptians had remained for the ſpace of three years in the above ſituation, without being relieved, they determined by general conſent to revolt from Pſammetichus⁵¹ to the Æthiopians ; on intelligence of which

⁵¹ *Revolt from Pſammetichus.*]—Diodorus Siculus aſſigns a very different reaſon for the revolt of theſe Ægyptians. “Pſammetichus,”

which event they were immediately followed by Psammeticus, who, on his coming up with them, solemnly adjured them not to desert the gods of their country, their wives and their children. One of them is said indecently to have produced the mark of his sex, and to have replied, that wherever they carried that, they should doubtless obtain both wives and children. On their arrival in Æthiopia, the Automoli * ⁵¹ devoted themselves to the service of the monarch, who in recompence for their conduct assigned them a certain district of Æthiopia possessed by a people in rebellion against him, whom he ordered them to expel for that purpose. After the establishment of the Ægyptians among them, the tincture which they imbibed of Ægyptian manners had a very sensible effect in civilizing the Æthiopians.

XXXI. Thus, without computing that part of it which flows through Ægypt, the course of the Nile is known to the extent of four months journey, partly by land and partly by water; for it will be found on experience, that no one can go in a less time from Elephantine to the Automoli. It is certain that the Nile rises in the west, but beyond

“thus,” says that historian, “having meditated an expedition against Syria, gave the place of honour in his army to strangers, and discovered on all occasions a preference to them, to the prejudice of his natural subjects.” A predilection of a similar nature was the cause of those repeated and formidable revolts, which so essentially disturbed the repose of Charles the fifth, on his first accession to the Spanish throne.—T.

* ⁵¹ *Automoli*.]—Automoli is Greek, and means deserters.—T.

the Automoli all is uncertainty, this part of the country being, from the excessive heat, a rude and uncultivated desert.

XXXII. It may not be improper to relate an account which I received from certain Cyrenæans: On an expedition which they made to the oracle of Ammon, they said they had an opportunity of conversing with Etearchus, the sovereign of the country: among other topics the Nile was mentioned, and it was observed, that the particulars of its source were hitherto entirely unknown; Etearchus informed them, that some Naffamonians once visited his court; (these are a people of Africa who inhabit the Syrtes, and a tract of land which from thence extends towards the east) on his making enquiry of them concerning the deserts of Africa, they related the following incident: some young men, who were sons of persons of distinction, had on their coming to man's estate signalized themselves by some extravagance of conduct. Among other things, they deputed by lot five of their companions to explore the solitudes of Africa, and to endeavour at extending their discoveries beyond all preceding adventurers. All that part of Lybia towards the Northern Ocean, from Ægypt to the promontory of Soloeis, which terminates the third division of the globe, is inhabited by the different nations of the Lybians, that district alone excepted in possession of the Greeks and Phœnicians. The remoter parts of Lybia beyond the sea-coast, and the people who inhabit its borders, are infested by various beasts of prey;

the

the country yet more distant is a parched and immeasurable desert. The young men left their companions, well provided with water and with food, and first proceeded through the region which was inhabited; they next came to that which was infested by wild beasts, leaving which, they directed their course westward through the desert. After a journey of many days, over a barren and sandy soil, they at length discerned some trees growing in a plain; these they approached, and seeing fruit upon them, they gathered it. Whilst they were thus employed, some men of dwarfish stature⁵² came where they were, seized their persons, and carried them away. They were mutually ignorant of each other's language, but the Nassiumians were conducted over many marshy grounds to a city, in which all the inhabitants were of the same

⁵² *Dwarfish stature.*]—The pigmies are as old as Homer. They were not confined to Æthiopia, they were believed to exist also in India. Homer thus mentions them:

So when inclement winters vex the plain,
With piercing frosts, or thick descending rain,
To warmer seas the cranes embodied fly,
With noise and order through the midway sky;
To pigmy nations wounds and death they bring,
And all the war descends upon the wing.—*Pope.*

Mention also is made of them by Pliny and Strabo. Pempynius Mela places them in a certain part of Arabia. P. Jovius says they are found in the extremities of the northern regions. The circumstance of their hostilities with the cranes is mentioned by Oppian, in his first book of *Halicautics*; by Juvenal, sat. 13; by Ovid, *Fast.* book vi. Mr. Gibbon properly enough treats the whole as a contemptible fable.—*T.*

diminutive

diminutive appearance, and of a black colour. This city was washed by a great river, which flowed from west to east, and abounded in crocodiles.

XXXIII. Such was the conversation of Etearchus, as related to me; he added, as the Cyrenæans farther told me, that the Naffamonians returned to their own country, and reported the men whom they had met to be all of them magicians. The river which washed their city, according to the conjecture of Etearchus, which probability confirms, was the Nile. The Nile certainly rises in Lybia, which it divides; and if it be allowable to draw conclusions from things which are well known, concerning those which are uncertain and obscure, it takes a similar course with the Ister⁵³. This river, commencing at the city of Pyrene⁵⁴, among the Celtæ, flows through the centre of Europe⁵⁵. These

⁵³ *The Ister.*]—A description of this river cannot possibly be given better than in the words of Mr. Gibbon.—“The European provinces of Rome were protected by the course of the Rhine and the Danube. The latter of those mighty streams, which rises at the distance of only thirty miles from the former, flows above thirteen hundred miles, for the most part to the south-east, collects the tribute of sixty navigable rivers, and is at length, through six mouths, received into the Euxine, which appears scarcely equal to such an accession of waters.”

⁵⁴ *Pyrene.*]—Many critics have supposed that Herodotus here intended to speak of the Pyrenean mountains; but this opinion cannot possibly be supported by any plausible reasoning.—*T.*

⁵⁵ *Centre of Europe.*]—This is not quite true. He means the same as when he observes, a little before, that the Nile divides Libya in the midst. But this mistake will not justify our following

These Celtæ are found beyond the Columns of Hercules⁵⁶; they border on the Cynesians, the most remote of all the nations who inhabit the western parts of Europe. At that point which is possessed by the Istrians, a Milesian colony, the Ister empties itself into the Euxine.

XXXIV. The sources of the Ister, as it passes through countries well inhabited, are sufficiently notorious; but of the fountains of the Nile, washing as it does the rude and uninhabitable deserts of Lybia, no one can speak with precision. All the knowledge which I have been able to procure from the most diligent and extensive enquiries, I have before communicated. Through Ægypt it directs its course towards the sea. Opposite to Ægypt are the mountains of Cilicia, from whence to Sinope, on the Euxine, a good traveller may pass in five days; on the side immediately opposite to Sinope, the Ister is poured into the sea. Thus the Nile, as it traverses Africa, may properly enough be compared to the Ister. But on this subject I have said all that I think necessary.

following the example of Bouhier, who accuses Herodotus of confounding the Nile with the Niger.—*Larcher*.

⁵⁶ *Columns of Hercules*.]—Africa is divided from Spain by a narrow strait of about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean. The Columns of Hercules, so famous among the ancients, were two mountains which seemed to have been torn asunder by some convulsion of the elements; and at the foot of the European mountain Gibraltar is now situated.—*Gibbon*.

XXXV. Concerning Ægypt itself I shall speak more at large; it claims our admiration beyond all other countries, and the wonderful things⁵⁷ which it exhibits demand a very copious description.—The Ægyptians, born under a climate to which no other can be compared, possessing a river different in its nature and properties from all the rivers in the world, are themselves distinguished from the rest of mankind by the singularity of their institutions and their manners. In this country the women leave to the men⁵⁸ the management of the loom in the retirement

⁵⁷ *Wonderful things.*]—The Ægyptian nation might well abound in prodigies, when even their country and soil itself was a kind of prodigy in nature.—*Lord Shaftesbury.*

⁵⁸ *The woman leaves to the men, &c.*]—This custom was contradictory to the manners of Greece.

The employments of the two sexes prove, that in Ægypt the women had more authority than their husbands, although Herodotus says nothing of the matter. But Diodorus Siculus is of this opinion; and he thinks that by this peculiarity they wished to perpetuate the gratitude which they felt from the mild government of Isis. “Thus,” says he, “in Ægypt, the queens are more honoured than the kings, and the influence of the women is greater also in private life. In the contracts of marriage it is stipulated, that the woman shall be mistress of her husband; and that he shall obey her in every particular.”—*Larcher.*

Nymphodorus (in the Scholia to the CEd. Col. of Sophocles) remarks, that Sesostris seeing Ægypt become exceedingly populous, and fearing lest the inhabitants should conspire against him, obliged them to employ themselves in feminine occupations, in order to enervate them.—*Larcher.*

The present aspect of Ægypt exhibits a scene of very different manners. “Each family,” says Savary, “forms a small state, of which the father is king, the members of it, attached to him

retirement of the house, whilst they themselves are engaged abroad in the business of commerce⁵⁹. Other nations in weaving shoot the woof above, the Ægyptians beneath: here the men carry burdens on their heads, women on their shoulders; women stand erect to make water, the men stoop. The offices of nature⁶⁰ are performed at home, but they eat their meals publickly in the streets. In vindication of this they assert, that those things which though necessary are unseemly, are best done in private; but whatever has no shame attached to it, should be done openly. The office of the priesthood is in every instance confined to the men; there are no priestesses in Ægypt, in the service either of male or female deities; the men are under no obligation⁶¹ to support their parents, if unwilling to do so, but the women are.

XXXVI.

by the ties of blood, acknowledge and submit to his power. When the master of the family dines, the women stand, and frequently hold the basin for him to wash, and serve him at table, and on all occasions behave to him with the extremeest humility and reverence. The women spend their time principally among their slaves, in works of embroidery, &c.—*T.*

⁵⁹ *Business of commerce*.]—The same fact is mentioned in the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles, verse 352. It occurs also in Pomponius Mela, which, however, is little more than a translation of our author.—*T.*

⁶⁰ *Offices of nature*.]—For this purpose the Greeks went out of doors.—*T.*

⁶¹ *Men are under no obligation*.]—In this barbarous custom I can by no means discern the so much boasted wisdom of the Ægyptians. The law of Solon seems much more commendable: this permitted a young man to neglect the maintenance of his father,

XXXVI. The priests of the gods *⁶¹, who in other places wear their hair long, in Ægypt wear it short.

It

father, and to refuse him admission into his house, if he had been prostituted by his means. He was nevertheless obliged, after his death, to give him sepulture, with the usual funeral solemnities.

The law of which Herodotus speaks had probably this foundation—The priests and the military having duties to perform which did not suffer them to take care of their parents, these in their sons' absence would probably have experienced neglect. It is well known that the priests were also judges, and that they were dispatched to different places to administer justice, and that of consequence they must often have been absent from their families.—*Larcher*.

* ⁶¹ *The priests of the gods.*] — Amongst the singularities which distinguished the Jewish priesthood, there is one so striking, that I cannot forbear pointing it out to the attention of the reader. The Jewish high-priest was not allowed to marry except with a virgin. He was forbidden to marry either with "a widow, or a divorced woman, or profane, or an harlot." See Levit. xxi. 14. The discipline of the primitive christians was not in this instance much less rigorous: they were excluded from the priesthood who had either married two wives, or a widow, or whose wives had been guilty of adultery. If this last incident happened, they were either obliged to be divorced, or to renounce their profession.

It can by no means be impertinent to add, from Mosheim, that the christian doctors had the good fortune to persuade the people that the ministers of the christian church succeeded to the character, rights, and privileges of the Jewish priesthood, which persuasion was a new source of honour and of profit to the sacred order. Accordingly, the bishops considered themselves as invested with a rank and character similar to those of the high-priest among the Jews, while the presbyters represented the priests, and the deacons the Levites. The errors to which this notion gave rise were many, and one of its immediate consequences was the establishing a greater difference be-

tween

it is elsewhere customary⁶², in cases of death, for those who are most nearly affected to cut off their hair in testimony of sorrow; but the Ægyptians, who at other times have their heads closely shorn, suffer the hair on this occasion to grow. Other nations will not suffer animals to approach the place of their repast; but in Ægypt they live promiscuously with the people. Wheat and barley is a common article of food in other countries; but it is in Ægypt thought mean and disgraceful, the diet here consists principally of spelt, a kind of corn which some call *zea*⁶³. Their
dough

tween the christian pastors and their flock, than the genius of the gospel seems to admit.—T.

⁶² *Elsewhere customary.*]—Amongst the Greeks when any sad calamity befalls them, the women cut their hair close, the men wear it long; in general the women wear their hair long, the men short.—*Plutarch*.

⁶³ *Zea.*]—I suspect this to be a kind of bearded wheat. The *far*, *olyra*, *zea*, all mean a corn which we have not in cultivation, but which our writers call *spelt*.

What Martyn says upon this subject very much deserves attention. See his note upon Georg. i. 73. at the word *farra*. "*Far*," says he, "seems to be put here for corn in general." It seems to me pretty plain that it is the ζεια or ζια of the Greeks, and what we call in English *spelt*. It is a sort of corn very like wheat, but the chaff adheres so strongly to the grain, that it requires a mill to separate them, like barley. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says expressly that the Greeks call that ζεια which the Latins call *far*. The principal objection to this seems to be, that Pliny treats of *zea* and *far* as two different sorts of grain; but we may reasonably suppose, that what Pliny says of *zea*, was taken from the Greek authors, and that they are the same grain, notwithstanding his having distinguished them. Besides this, in the 219th verse of this Georgic, Virgil has given the epithet *robusta*

dough they knead with their feet; whilst in the removal of mud and dung they do not scruple to use their hands. Male children, except in those places which have borrowed the custom from hence, are left in other nations as nature formed them; in Ægypt they are circumcised⁶⁴. The men have two vests,
the

to *farra*, which is the very same that Theophrastus has given to *zea*, &c.

⁶⁴ *Circumcised.*]—"I am aware," says Mr. Gibbon, "how tender is the question of circumcision." He asserts, however, that the Æthiopians have a physical reason for the circumcision of males and even of females, and that it was practised in Æthiopia long before the introduction of Judaism or Christianity.

Its commencement with the Jews was unquestionably with Abraham; and by the command of God. Marsham is of opinion, that the Hebrews borrowed it from the Ægyptians, and that God was not the first author of this custom. This latter is contrary to the testimony of Moses, the former position will admit of more debate. This practice, as it prevails amongst the Jews and Ægyptians, had a very different object: with the first it was a ceremony of religion; with the latter a point of decency or cleanliness, or as some say, of physical necessity. With the former it was performed on the eighth day from the birth of the child; with the latter not till the thirteenth year, and then on the girls as well as boys.

There is a kind of circumcision practised in Otaheite, which consists of slitting the prepuce through the upper part, see Hawkesworth's Voyages.

From the pain attending the operation, when performed at an advanced age, Mr. Harmer takes occasion to explain a passage in the Old Testament, concerning which commentators have materially differed.—See *Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. ii. p. 500.

After a generation's intermission, the Jews returned to circumcision under Joshua. See Joshua, v. 2. "And the Lord
said

the women only one. In opposition to the customs of other nations, the Ægyptians fix the ropes to their sails on the inside. The Greeks, when they write or reckon with counters, go from the left to the right, the Ægyptians from right to left; notwithstanding which they persist in affirming that the Greeks write to the left, but they themselves always to the right. They have two sorts of letters⁶⁵, one of which is appropriated to sacred subjects, the other used on common occasions.

XXXVII. Their veneration of their deities is superstitious to an extreme: of their customs one is

said unto Joshua, Make thee sharp knives, and circumcise again the children of Israel the second time."

The curious reader may also consult Exodus, chap. iv. to see what passed betwixt Moses and his wife Zipporah, on the subject of circumcising their son. Upon this last the author of the Characteristics remarks, that Zipporah, from reproaching Moses with the bloodiness of the deed, seems to have been a party only through necessity, and in fear rather of her husband, than of God.

Upon this subject see also Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum. The above observations are compiled from the different writers on this curious topic. It may not be improper to add, that circumcision is sometimes used medicinally.—*Y*.

⁶⁵ *Two sorts of letters.*]—Diodorus Siculus agrees in this respect with Herodotus. Clemens Alexandrinus and Porphyry remark, that the Ægyptians used three sorts of letters: the first is called epistolary, the second the sacerdotal, the third the hieroglyphic. Warburton, in his Divine Legation of Moses, attributes to the Ægyptians four sorts of letters. Although I am ignorant of the time when the Ægyptians first began to have an alphabet, I am satisfied it must have been long before the invasion of Cambyfes.—*Larcher*.

to drink out of brazen goblets, which it is an universal practice among them to cleanse every day. They are so regardful of neatness, that they wear only linen⁶⁶, and that always newly washed; and it is from the idea of cleanliness, which they regard much beyond comeliness, that they use circumcision. Their priests⁶⁷ every third day shave every part of their bodies, to prevent vermin⁶⁸ or any species of impurity from adhering to those who are engaged in the service of the gods: the priesthood is also confined to one particular mode of dress; they have one vest of linen, and their shoes are made of the byblus; they wash themselves in cold water twice in the course of the day, and as often in the

⁶⁶ *Only linen.*]—So much was said by the ancients upon the linen of Ægypt, that many have been induced to suppose it remarkably fine, but it was certainly very coarse. The Greeks had no flax, and were not skilled in the art of weaving, which circumstances excuse the praise they have bestowed on the Ægyptian linen. It appears from the Philosophical Transactions of 1764, that Dr. Halley, after a minute examination of an Ægyptian mummy, found the upper filleting hardly equal in fineness to what is sold in the shops for two and four-pence a yard; the inner filleting was coarser.—T.

⁶⁷ *Their priests.*]—For a more particular account of the peculiarities observed by the Ægyptian priests, see Porphyrius de Abstinentiâ, lib. iii.; from whom it appears, that their whole time was divided betwixt study and acts of devotion. It may not be improper to advertise the English reader, that the institutions of Pythagoras appear to have been almost wholly founded upon the manners and customs of these priests.—T.

⁶⁸ *To prevent vermin.*]—In this respect the Jews were in like manner tenacious: if a Jewish priest found any dirt or dead vermin betwixt his inner garments and his skin, he might not perform the duties of his office. See Maimonides.—T.

night;

night; it would indeed be difficult to enumerate their religious ceremonies, all of which they practise with superstitious exactness. The sacred ministers possess in return many and great advantages⁶⁹: they are not obliged to consume any part of their domestic property; each has a moiety of the sacred viands ready dressed assigned him, besides a large and daily allowance of beef and of geese; they have also wine⁷⁰, but are not permitted to feed on fish⁷¹.

⁶⁹ *Possess many and great advantages.*]—They enjoyed one great advantage, of which Herodotus takes no notice: Ælian positively affirms, that they were the judges of the nation; Larcher, from whom the above remark is taken, proceeds to a minute comparison betwixt the customs of the priests of Ægypt and those of the Jews.

See also Genesis, chap. xlvii. ver. 22; from which it appears that the priests of Ægypt had no share in the miseries of the famine. “Only the land of the priests bought he not, for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, &c.”

⁷⁰ *They have also wine.*]—This assertion of Herodotus is contradicted by other writers; but, as Montfaucon observes, the customs of the priests might vary according to times and places.—T.

⁷¹ *Not permitted to feed on fish.*]—The reason of this, according to Plutarch, was their excessive enmity to the sea, which they considered as an element inimical to man: the same reasoning they extended to the produce of the Nile, which they thought corrupted by its connection with the sea.—T.

Various motives are assigned, why the Pythagoreans, in imitation of the Ægyptians, abstained from beans, by Plutarch, Cicero, and others. “The Pythagoreans,” observes Cicero, “abstained from beans, as if that kind of food inflated the mind rather than the belly; but there is nothing so absurd which has not been affirmed by some one of the philosophers.”—T.

Beans are sown in no part of Ægypt, neither will the inhabitants eat them, either boiled or raw; the priests will not even look at this pulse, esteeming it exceedingly unclean. Every god has several attendant priests, and one of superior dignity, who presides over the rest; when any one dies he is succeeded by his son⁷².

XXXVIII. They esteem bulls as sacred to Epaphus⁷³, which previously to sacrifice are thus carefully examined: if they can but discover a single black hair in his body, he is deemed impure; for this purpose a priest is particularly appointed, who examines the animal as it stands, and as reclined on its back: its tongue is also drawn out, and he observes whether it be free from those blemishes⁷⁴ which

⁷² *Succeeded by his son.*—Amongst the Ægyptians the priests composed a distinct class, as the Levites amongst the Jews, and the Brachmans with the Indians.—*Larcher*.

⁷³ *Bulls as sacred to Epaphus.*—It was doubtless from the circumstance of this idolatry that Aaron erected the golden calf in the wilderness, and Jeroboam in Dan and Bethel.—*T*.

Ægyptiâ superstitione inquinatos Israelitas vitulum aureum coluisse certum est.—*Selden de Diis Syris*.

It is in this place not unworthy of remark, that Herodotus uses the word *μωσχας*, which may be interpreted *vitulus*. See also Virgil:

Ego hanc vitulam ne forte recuses
Bis venit at mulctram, binos alit ubere fetus
Depono.

⁷⁴ *Free from those blemishes.*—See Numbers, chap. xix. ver. 2.
“Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring thee a red heifer without spot, wherein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke.”

are

are specified in their sacred books, and of which I shall speak hereafter. The tail also undergoes examination, every hair of which must grow in its natural and proper form: if in all these instances the bull appears to be unblemished, the priest fastens the byblus round his horns; he then applies a preparation of earth, which receives the impression of his seal, and the animal is then led away; this seal is of so great importance, that to sacrifice a beast which has it not, is deemed a capital offence.

XXXIX. I proceed to describe their mode of sacrifice:—Having led the animal destined and marked for the purpose to the altar, they kindle a fire; a libation of wine is poured upon the altar; the god is solemnly invoked, and the victim then is killed; they afterwards cut off his head, and take the skin from the carcase; upon the head they heap many imprecations: such as have a market-place at hand carry it there, and sell it to the Grecian traders; if they have not this opportunity, they throw it into the river. They imprecate the head, by wishing that whatever evil menaces those who sacrifice, or Ægypt in general, it may fall upon that head⁷⁵. This ceremony respecting the head of the animal, and this mode of pouring a libation of wine upon the altar, is indiscriminately observed by

⁷⁵ *Fall upon that head.*]—See Leviticus, chap. xvi. ver. 21.

“And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, putting them upon the head of the goat.”

all the Ægyptians : in consequence of the above, no Ægyptian will on any account eat of the head of a beast. As to the examination of the victims, and their ceremony of burning them, they have different methods, as their different occasions of sacrifice require.

XL. Of that goddess whom they esteem the first of all their deities, and in whose honour their greatest festival is celebrated, I shall now make more particular mention. After the previous ceremony of prayers, they sacrifice an ox ; they then strip off the skin, and take out the intestines, leaving the fat and the paunch ; they afterwards cut off the legs, the shoulders, the neck, and the extremities of the loin ; the rest of the body is stuffed with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and various aromatics ; after this process they burn it, pouring upon the flame a large quantity of oil : whilst the victim is burning the spectators flagellate themselves ⁷⁶, having before the ceremony fasted ;

⁷⁶ *Flagellate themselves.*]—Athenagoras, in his *Legat. pro Chris.* ridicules this custom of the Ægyptians ; Larcher quotes the passage, and adds, that it is somewhat singular that such a ceremony should seem ridiculous to a christian. Flagellation, however inflicted, or voluntarily submitted to as a penance, was subsequent to the time of Athenagoras.

It is a maxim, says Mr. Gibbon, of the civil law, that he who cannot pay with his purse must pay with his body. The practice of flagellation was adopted by the monks, as a cheap though painful equivalent.

The thirteenth century, according to Mosheim, gave birth to the sect of the Flagellants.—T.

the whole is completed by their feasting on the residue of the sacrifice,

XII. All the Ægyptians sacrifice bulls without blemish, and calves, the females are sacred to Isis, and may not be used for this purpose. This divinity is represented under the form of a woman, and as the Greek paint Io, with horns upon her head; for this reason the Ægyptians venerate cows far beyond all other cattle, neither will any man or woman among them kiss a Grecian, nor use a knife, or spit on any domestic utensil belonging to a Greek; nor will they eat even the flesh of such beasts as by their law are pure, if it has been cut with a Grecian knife. If any of these cattle die, they thus dispose of their carcases, the females are thrown into the river, the males they bury in the vicinity of the city, and by way of mark one and sometimes both of the horns are left projecting from the ground: they remain thus a stated time, and till they begin to putrefy, when a vessel appointed for this particular purpose is dispatched from Propitius, an island of the Delta, nine schæni in extent, and containing several cities. Atarbechis⁷⁸,
one

⁷⁷ *Belonging to a Greek.*]—That the Ægyptians would not eat with strangers, appears from the following passage in Genesis, chap. xliii. ver. 32. “And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Ægyptians which did eat with him by themselves, because the Ægyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Ægyptians.”

⁷⁸ *Atarbechis.*]—Atarbec in Ægypt is the temple of Atar or Athar,

one of these cities, in which is a temple of Venus, provides the vessels for this purpose, which are sent to the different parts of Ægypt: these collect and transport the bones of the animals, which are all buried in one appointed place. This law and custom extends to whatever cattle may happen to die, as the Ægyptian themselves put none to death.

XLII. Those who worship in the temple of the Theban Jupiter, or belong to the district of Thebes, abstain from sheep, and sacrifice goats. The same deities receive in Ægypt different forms of worship; the ceremonies of Isis and of Osiris, who they say is no other than the Grecian Bacchus⁷⁹, are alone unvaried; in the temple of Mendes, and in the whole Mendesian district, goats are preserved and sheep sacrificed. Why the Thebans, and all who are under their influence, abstain from sheep, is thus explained: Jupiter, they say, was long averse to the

Athar, called *Atarbechis* by Herodotus: the same is *Athyr-bet*, and styled *Athribites* by Strabo.—*Byssut*.

Atar signifies Venus, and Bec a city, as Balbec the city of the sun, called by the Greeks *Heliopolis*.

Whoever wishes to be minutely informed concerning the various names and attributes of Venus, the different places where she was worshipped, and indeed every thing which antiquity has handed down concerning this goddess, will do well to consult the *Memoire sur Venus*, by Larcher, to which the prize of the French Academy was assigned in 1775.—*T*.

⁷⁹ *The Grecian Bacchus*.]—The Egyptians maintain, that their god Osiris is no other than the Dionysus of Greece. In like manner the Indi assure us, that it is the same deity who is conversant in their country.—*Diodorus Sic.* l. iv. 210.

earnest solicitations of Hercules to see his person; but in consequence of his repeated importunity the god, in compliance, used the following artifice: he cut off the head of a ram, and covering himself with its skin, shewed himself in that form to Hercules: from this incident, the Ægyptian statues of Jupiter represent that divinity with the head of a ram. This custom was borrowed of the Ægyptians by the Ammonians, who are composed partly of Ægyptians and partly of Æthiopians, and whose dialect is formed promiscuously of both those languages. The Ægyptians call Jupiter, Ammoun⁸⁰, and I should think this was the reason why the above people named themselves Ammonians. From this however it is, that the Thebans esteem the ram as sacred, and, except on the annual festival of Jupiter, never put one to death. Upon this solemnity they kill a ram, and placing its skin on the

⁸⁰ *Call Jupiter, Ammoun.*]—Plutarch says, that of all the Ægyptian names which seemed to have any correspondence with the Zeus of Greece, Amoun or Ammon was the most peculiar and adequate: he speaks of many people who were of this opinion.—*Bryant*.

The following line occurs in the Scholiast to Pindar, Pyth. Ode 4th, v. 28.

Ζεὺς Ἀμμωνεῖ Ἀμμωνεὶ κεκλυμένη κεκλυτὴ μαντί.

Jupiter was almost as much in fashion amongst the old worshippers of images, as the Virgin amongst the modern: he had temples and different characters almost every where. At Carthage he was called Ammon; in Ægypt, Serapis; at Athens, the great Jupiter was the Olympian Jupiter; and at Rome, the greatest Jupiter was the Capitoline.—*Spence, Polymetis*,—7.

image of the god, they introduce before it a figure of Hercules; the assembly afterwards beat the ram, and conclude the ceremony by enclosing the body in a sacred chest,

XLIII. This Hercules, as I have been informed, is one of the twelve great gods, but of the Grecian Hercules I could in no part of Ægypt procure any knowledge; that this name was never borrowed by Ægypt from Greece, but certainly communicated by the Ægyptians to the Greeks, and to those in particular who assign it to the son of Amphitryon, is among other arguments sufficiently evident from this, that both the reputed parents of this Hercules, Amphitryon and Alcmena, were of Ægyptian origin. The Ægyptians also disclaim all knowledge both of Neptune and the Dioscuri, neither of whom are admitted among the number of their gods: if they had ever borrowed the name of a deity from Greece, the remembrance of these, so far from being less, must have been stronger than of any other; for if they then made voyages, and as I have great reason to believe, there were at that time Greek sailors, they would rather have been acquainted with the names of the other deities, than with that of Hercules. Hercules is certainly one of the most ancient deities of Ægypt⁸¹; and as they themselves affirm,

⁸¹ *Deities of Ægypt.*]—The remark, that the Ægyptian is a very distinct personage from the Grecian Hercules, is not peculiar to Herodotus; it is affirmed by all the authors who have had

affirm, is one of the twelve, who were produced from the eight gods, seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

- XLIV. From my great desire to obtain information on this subject, I made a voyage to Tyre, in Phœnicia, where is a temple of Hercules held in great veneration. Among the various offerings which enriched and adorned it, I saw two pillars; the one was of the purest gold, the other of emerald⁸², which in the night diffused an extraordinary splendour. I enquired of the priests how long this temple had been erected, but I found that they also differed in their relation from the Greeks. This temple, as they affirmed, had been standing ever since the first building of the city, a period of

had occasion to speak on the subject; Cicero gives him the Nile as his father: *Nilo genitus*.—*Larcher*.

According to Cicero, the Ægyptian Hercules was not the most ancient: he calls him the second Hercules. The Hercules, son of Amphitryon and Alcmæna, was the sixth: this last, however, was the one most known, who is represented in almost all our ancient monuments, and who was worshipped by the Greeks and Romans.—*T*.

⁸² *Of emerald.*]—This pillar, of which Herodotus here speaks, could not, says Mr. Larcher, have been a true emerald, it was probably a pseudosmaragdus. The learned Frenchman agrees in opinion with the authors of the Universal History, that it was of coloured glass, illuminated by lamps placed within.

Whether at so early a period they had knowledge of glass, may be disputed; but it is well known, that before the discovery of glass, or the application of it for windows, the rich used transparent stones for this purpose, which will solve the difficulty quite as well.—*T*.

two thousand three hundred years. I saw also at Tyre another temple consecrated to the Thasian Hercules. At Thasus, which I visited, I found a temple erected to this deity by the Phœnicians, who built Thasus while they were engaged in search of Europa : an event which happened five generations before Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, was known in Greece. From all these circumstances I was convinced that Hercules must be a very ancient deity. Such therefore of the Greeks as have erected two temples to the deity of this name, have, in my opinion, acted very wisely : to the Olympian Hercules they offer as to an immortal being ; to the other they pay the rites of an hero.

XLV. Among the many preposterous fables current in Greece, the one concerning Hercules is not the least ridiculous. He arrived, they say, in Ægypt, where the inhabitants bound him with the sacred fillet, and the usual ornaments of a victim⁸¹, and made preparations to sacrifice him to Jupiter.

⁸¹ *Of a victim.*]—The gradations by which mankind was led from offering the produce of the earth to the gods to sacrifice animals, are related by Porphyry, in his second book, de Abstinentiâ. He relates the following story on this subject : “ So abhorrent,” says he, “ were the antient Athenians from the destroying of any kind of animals, that a woman, named Clymene, was deemed guilty of a very criminal act, from her having without design killed a hog. Her husband, from the supposition that she had committed an impiety, went to consult the oracle on the occasion. But as the deity did not consider it in a very heinous light, men were afterwards induced to make light of it also.” See Porphyry. lib. ii. chap. 2.—T.

For a while he restrained himself, but upon his being conducted with the usual solemnities to the altar, he exerted his strength, and put all his opponents to death. This story of the Greeks demonstrates the extremest ignorance of the Ægyptian manners; for how can it be reasonable to suppose, that they will offer human beings in sacrifice, who will not for this purpose destroy even animals, except swine, bulls, male calves without blemish, and geese? Or how could Hercules, an individual, and as they themselves affirm a mortal, be able to destroy many thousands of men?—I hope, however, that what I have introduced on this subject will give no offence either to gods or heroes.

XLVI. The Mendefians, of whom I have before spoken, refuse to sacrifice goats of either sex, out of reverence to Pan, whom their traditions assert to be one of the eight deities, whose existence preceded that of the twelve. Like the Greeks, they always represent Pan in his images with the countenance of the she-goat⁸⁴ and legs of the male; not that they believe this has any resemblance to his person, or that he in any respect differs from the

⁸⁴ *Countenance of the she-goat, &c.*]—Montfaucon observes, that what Herodotus says in this place of the Ægyptian manner of representing Pan, does not agree with the statues and images of Pan which have come down to us. Both the Greeks and Romans, if we may credit their monuments, which are very numerous, pictured Pan with a man's face, and with the horns, ears, and feet of a she or he-goat.—*T.*

rest of the deities : the real motive which they assign for this custom I do not choose to relate. The veneration of the Mendefians for these animals, and for the males in particular ⁸⁵, is equally great and universal : this is also extended to goat-herds. There is one he-goat more particularly honoured than the rest, whose death is seriously lamented by the whole district of the Mendefians. In the Ægyptian language the word Mendes is used in common for Pan and for a goat. It happened in this country, within my remembrance, and was indeed universally notorious, that a goat had indecent and public communication with a woman.

XLVII. The Ægyptians regard the hog as an unclean animal ⁸⁶, and if they casually touch one they

⁸⁵ *Males in particular.*]—The Ægyptians venerated the he-goat as a deity, for the same reason that the Greeks do Priapus. This animal has a strong propensity to venery, and the member which is the instrument of generation they esteem honourable, because from it, animals derive their existence.—*Diodorus Sic. lib. i. 98.*

⁸⁶ *Unclean animal.*]—The abhorrence of the Jews to the flesh of swine is generally supposed to have been imitated from the Ægyptians; they differed in this, the Jews would never eat it, the Ægyptians occasionally did. The motives assigned by Plutarch for the prejudice of both these nations in this particular instance is curious enough : “ The milk of the sow,” says he, “ occasioned leprosy, which was the reason why the Ægyptians entertained so great an aversion for this animal.”

The same author in another place explains in this manner the dislike of the Jews to swine. The religion, the ceremonies, and feasts of the Jews, were, as he pretends, the same as those practised in Greece with respect to Bacchus. Bacchus and Adonis

they immediately plunge themselves, clothes and all, into the water. This prejudice operates to the exclusion of all swine-herds, although natives of Ægypt, from the temples: with people of this description a connection by marriage is studiously avoided, and they are reduced to the necessity of intermarrying among those of their own profession. The only deities to whom the Ægyptians offer swine, are Bacchus and Luna; to these they sacrifice swine when the moon is at the full, after which they eat the flesh. Why they offer swine at this particular time, and at no other, the Ægyptians have a tradition among themselves, which delicacy forbids me to explain. The following is the mode in which they sacrifice this animal to Luna: as soon as it is killed they cut off the extremity of the tail, which, with the spleen and the fat, they inclose in the cawl, and burn; upon the remainder, which at any other time they would disdain, they feast at the full moon, when the sacrifice is performed. They who are poor make the figures of swine with meal, which having first baked, they offer on the altar.

XLVIII. On the day of the feast of Bacchus, at the hour of supper, every person, before the door

nis are the same divinities; and the Jews abstain from swine's flesh, because Adonis was slain by a Boar.

It is no less worth remarking, that Plutarch explains the derivation of Levites from *Lylios*, *Λυσίος*, a name of Bacchus.—
T.

of his house, offers a hog in sacrifice. The swine-herd of whom they purchased it, is afterwards at liberty to take it away. Except this sacrifice of the swine, the Ægyptians celebrate the feast of Bacchus in the same manner as the Greeks. Instead of the phalli ⁸⁷, they have contrived certain figures of about a cubit in length; the private members of which are made to move. These the women carry about the streets and villages, and the member which distinguishes the sex, being almost as large as the rest of the body, with these, and preceded by a piper, they sing in a long procession the praises of Bacchus. Why this member is so disproportionably large, and why they give a motion to it alone, they assign a sacred and mysterious reason.

XLIX. I am of opinion, that Melampus ⁸⁸, son
of

⁸⁷ *Phalli.*] — Macrobius explains the consecration of the phallus into an emblem of the power of generation, whose prolific virtue is thereby invoked to impregnate the universe; for which reason that ceremony is for the most part performed in the spring, when the whole world receives a kind of regeneration from the gods. Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. i. 7.— See also on this subject Lucian de Dea Syria; Apuleius; Letters on Mythology. See also *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, vol. iii. 138.—*T.*

Mention is made in Athenæus of a phallus, carried in a Bacchanal procession, of gold, and one hundred and twenty cubits long. It was moreover adorned with garlands, which were twined round it to its vertex, where was a golden star six cubits in circumference.—See *Athenæus*, book v. chap. 5.

⁸⁸ *Melampus.*] — So called because, being exposed when a child by his mother Rhodope, his whole person was covered, except-
ing

of Amytheon, was acquainted with this ceremony. It was Melampus who first taught the Greeks the name and the sacrifice of Bacchus, and introduced the procession of the phalli ⁸⁹; the mysterious purport of which he did not sufficiently explain; but since his time it has received from different sages adequate illustration. It is unquestionable, that the use of the phalli in the sacrifice of Bacchus, with the other ceremonies which the Greeks now know and practise, were first taught them by Melampus. I therefore, without hesitation, pronounce him to have been a man of wisdom, and of skill in the art of divination. Instructed by the Ægyptians ⁹⁰ in various ceremonies, and particularly in those which relate to Bacchus, with some few trifling changes he brought them into Greece. I can by no means im-

ing his feet; these the rays of the sun turned black. He was a famous soothsayer: he was also, according to Pausanias, a physician, and had a temple and statues, and solemn games instituted in his honour.—T.

⁸⁹ *Of the phalli.*]—In what manner these were carried in processions, may be seen in the *Acharnenses* of Aristophanes.

Ο Ξανθίας τον φαλλον ορθον εησατω.

See also the Scholiast on this passage.—T.

⁹⁰ *Instructed by the Ægyptians.*]—As Ægypt was then famous for the sciences and arts, the Greeks, who were beginning to emerge from barbarism, travelled thither to obtain knowledge, which they might afterwards communicate to their countrymen. With this view the following illustrious characters visited this country: “Orpheus, Musæus, Melampus, Dædalus, Homer, Lycurgus the Spartan, Solon of Athens, Plato the philosopher, Pythagoras of Samos, Eudoxus, Democritus of Abdera, Ænopsis of Chios, &c. &c.”—*Larcher*.

pute to accident the resemblance which exists in the rites of Bacchus in Ægypt, and in Greece; in this case they would not have differed so essentially from the Grecian manners, and they might have been traced to more remote antiquity: neither will I affirm that these, or that any other religious ceremonies, were borrowed of Greece ⁹¹ by the Ægyptians; I rather think that Melampus learned all these particulars which relate to the worship of Bacchus, from Cadmus, and his Tyrian companions, when they came from Phœnicia to what is now called Bœotia ⁹².

L. Ægypt has certainly communicated to Greece the names of almost all the gods; that they are of barbarian origin, I am convinced by my different researches. The names of Neptune and the Dioscuri I mentioned before; with these, if we except Juno ⁹³, Vesta, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids, the names of all the other deities have always been familiar in Ægypt. In this instance I

⁹¹ *Borrowed of Greece.*]—See Bryant's *Mythology*, vol. ii. 483. Diodorus Sic. vol. i. 62, 63, Wesseling's edition.—T.

⁹² *Bœotia.*]—This country was so called from Bœotus, son of Itonus, and the nymph Menalippe, and grandson of Amphictyon. See Diodorus Sic. lib. iv. 67; and also Thucydides, lib. i. p. 11.

⁹³ *Juno.*]—We learn from Porphyry, that to the Ægyptian Juno, on a certain festival, three men were sacrificed, who were first of all examined like so many calves destined for the altar. Amasis abolished these, substituting in their room three figures in wax. Porphyr. de Abstinentiâ, lib. ii. c. 55.

do but repeat the opinions of the Ægyptians. Those names of which they disclaim any knowledge are all, except Neptune, of Pelasgian derivation: for their acquaintance with this deity, they are indebted to Africa, where indeed he was first of all known, and has always been greatly honoured. The Ægyptians do not pay any religious ceremonies to heroes.

LI. With the above, the Greeks have derived many other circumstances of religious worship from Ægypt, which I shall hereafter relate; they did not however learn from hence, but from the Pelasgi, to construct the figure of Mercury with an erect priapus, which custom was first introduced by the Athenians, and communicated from them to others. At that period the Athenians were ranked among the nations of Greece, and had the Pelasgians for their neighbours; from which incident this people also began to be esteemed as Greeks. Of the truth of this, whoever has been initiated in the Cabirian mysteries⁹⁴, which the Samothracians use, and learned

⁹⁴ *Cabirian mysteries.*]—The Cabiri, says Montfaucon, were a sort of deities about whom the antients differ much. The Cabiri, the Curetæ, the Corybantes, the Idean Dactyli, and sometimes the Telchinii, were taken for the same: they were sometimes taken for the Dioscuri. With regard to their functions, and the places in which they exercised, opinions equally various are held: some call them the sons of Vulcan, others of Jupiter.—*See Montfaucon.*

“They,” says Mr. Larcher, principally from the Scholiast to the Irene of Aristophanes, “who had been admitted to these mysteries were highly esteemed, as they were supposed to have nothing

ed of the Pelasgi, will be necessarily convinced; for the Pelasgians before they lived near the Athenians formerly inhabited Samothracia, and taught the people of that country their mysteries. By them the Athenians were first of all instructed to make the figure of Mercury with an upright priapus. For this the Pelasgians have a sacred tradition, which is explained in the Samothracian mysteries.

LII. The Pelasgians, as I was informed at Dodona, formerly offered all things indiscriminately to the gods. They distinguished them by no name or surname, for they were hitherto unacquainted with either; but they called them gods, which by its etymology means disposers, from observing the orderly disposition and distribution of the various

to apprehend from tempests." "They," observes Plutarch, "who had learned their names, availed themselves of them as a kind of amulet to avert calamity, pronouncing them slowly."

These names were, according to the Scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. Ceres, Proserpine, and Pluto, to which others add Mercury.

Who these Cabirim might be, has been a matter of unsuccessful enquiry to many learned men. The utmost that is known with certainty is, that they were originally three, and were called, by way of eminence, The Great, or Mighty Ones, for that is the import of the Hebrew name. Of the like import is the Latin appellation, Penates: Dii per quos *penitus*, spiramus, &c. Thus the joint worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the triad of the Roman capitol, is traced to that of *The Three Mighty Ones* in Samothrace, which was established in that island, at what precise time it is impossible to determine; but earlier, if Eusebius may be credited, than the days of Abraham.—*Bishop Horsley's Charge to the Clergy, &c.*—T.

parts of the universe. They learned, but not till a late period, the names of the divinities from the Ægyptians, and Bacchus was the last whom they knew. Upon this subject they afterwards consulted the oracle of Dodona⁹⁴, by far the most ancient oracle of Greece, and at the period of which we speak, the only one. They desired to know whether they might with propriety adopt the names which they had learned of the barbarians, and were answered that they might; they have accordingly used them ever since in their rites of sacrifice, and from the Pelasgi they were communicated to the Greeks.

LIII. Of the origin of each deity, whether they have all of them always existed, as also of their form, their knowledge is very recent indeed. The invention of the Grecian theogony⁹⁵, the names, the

⁹⁵ *Oracle of Dodona.*]—See on this subject Bryant's *Mythology*, vol. ii. 286.

⁹⁶ *Grecian theogony.*]—To suppose Homer to have been the author of the theology and mythology contained in his poems, would be as unreasonable as to imagine that he first taught the Greeks to read and write. We find that, in the following ages, when wise men began to reason more upon these subjects, they censured Homer's theology, as highly injurious to the gods, if it were understood in the literal sense. But when Homer wrote, he had sufficient excuse and authority for the fables which he delivered: and he introduced into his poems, by way of machinery, and with some decorations, theological legends, contrived in more rude and ignorant times, and sanctified by hoary age and venerable tradition. Tradition had preserved some memory of the things which the gods had done and had suffered when they were men.—*Jortin's Dissertation*, 207.

the honours, the forms, and the functions of the deities may with propriety be ascribed to Hesiod and to Homer⁹⁷, who I believe lived four hundred years, and not more, before myself. If I may give my opinion, the poets who are reported to have been before these, were certainly after them. What I have said of the names and origin of the gods, has been on the authority of the priests of Dodona; of Hesiod and of Homer I have delivered my own sentiments.

LIV. Of the two oracles of Greece and Lybia, the Ægyptians speak as follows: I was told by the ministers of the Theban Jupiter, that the Phœnicians had violently carried off from Thebes two priestesses, one of whom had been sold into Africa, the other into Greece; they added, that the commencement

This evidence of Herodotus must be esteemed early, and his judgment valid. What can afford us a more sad account of the doubt and darkness in which mankind was enveloped, than these words of the historian? How plainly does he shew the necessity of divine interposition, and of revelation in consequence of it!—*E Bryant's Mythology*, i. 307.

Hésiode a laissé un nom célèbre et des ouvrages estimés, comme on l'a supposé contemporain d'Homère, quelques-uns ont pensé qu'il étoit son rival, mais Homère ne pouvoit avoir de rivaux.

La théogonie d'Hésiode, comme celle de plusieurs anciens écrivains de la Grèce, n'est qu'un tissu d'idées absurdes, ou d'allégories impénétrables. *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, iii. 315.

⁹⁷ *Homer.*]—To me it seems certain that the life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus, was not written by our historian. This I think might very easily be proved, but it would require a dissertation, and much exceed the limits of a note.—*Larcher*.

of the above oracles must be assigned to these two women. On my requesting to know their authority for these assertions, they answered, that after a long and ineffectual search after these priestesses, they had finally learned what they had told me.

LV. I have related the intelligence which I gained from the priests at Thebes: The priestesses of Dodona⁹⁸ assert, that two black pigeons flew from Thebes in Ægypt, one of which settled in Africa, the other among themselves; which latter, resting on the branch of a beech-tree, declared with a human voice that here by divine appointment was to be an oracle of Jove. The inhabitants, fully impressed that this was a divine communication, instantly complied with the injunction. The dove which flew to Africa in like manner commanded the people to fix there an oracle of Ammon, which also is an oracle of Jupiter. Such was the information I received from the priestesses of Dodona, the eldest of whom was called Promenea, the second Timarete, the youngest Nicandre; the

⁹⁸ *Priestesses of Dodona.*]—There is an account given by Pappus, of one Metra, or Meetra, who could change herself into various forms. The story at bottom is very plain: Ægypt was frequently called Meitra and Meitraia, and by the person here called Meitra we are certainly to understand a woman of the country. She was sometimes simply mentioned as a *caben* or priestess, which the Greeks have rendered *Kura*, a dog. Women in this sacred character attended at the shrine of Apis and Mnenis, and of the sacred heifer at Onuphis. Some of them in different countries were styled Cygneans, and also Peleiadæ, of whom the principal were the women at Dodona — *Bryant.*

other ministers employed in the service of the temple agreed with these in every particular.

LVI. My opinion of the matter is this : If the Phœnicians did in reality carry away these two priestesses, and sell one to Africa, the other to Greece, this latter must have been carried to the Thesproti, which country, though part of what is now termed Greece, was formerly called Pelasgia²⁹. That, although in a state of servitude, she erected, under the shade of a beech-tree, a sacred edifice to Jupiter, which she might very naturally be prompted to do, from the remembrance of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, whence she was taken. Thus she instituted the oracle, and having learned the Greek language, might probably relate that by the same Phœnicians her sister was sold for a slave to Africa.

LVII. The name of doves was probably given them because, being strangers, the sound of their voices might to the people of Dodona seem to resemble the tone of those birds. When the woman, having learned the language, delivered her thoughts in words which were generally understood, the dove might be said to have spoken with a human voice. Before she had thus accomplished herself, her voice might appear like that of a dove. It certainly can-

²⁹ *Pelasgia*.]—The people who then composed the body of the Hellenistic nation in those ancient times, gave their names to the countries which they occupied. The Pelasgians were widely dispersed.—*Larcher*.

not be supposed that a dove should speak with a human voice; and the circumstance of her being black, explains to us her Ægyptian origin.

LVIII. The two oracles of Ægyptian Thebes and of Dodona have an entire resemblance to each other. The art of divination, as now practised in our temples, is thus derived from Ægypt; at least the Ægyptians were the first who introduced the sacred festivals, processions, and supplications, and from them the Greeks were instructed. Of this it is to me a sufficient testimony, that these religious ceremonies are in Greece but of modern date, whereas in Ægypt they have been in use from the remotest antiquity.

LIX. In the course of the year the Ægyptians celebrate various public festivals¹⁰⁰; but the festival in honour of Diana, at the city Bubastos, is the first in dignity and importance. The second is held in honour of Isis, at the city Busiris, which is situated in the middle of the Delta, and contains the largest temple of that goddess. Isis is called in the Greek tongue, Demeter or Ceres. The solemnities of Minerva, observed at Sais¹⁰¹, are the third in consequence; the fourth are at Heliopolis, and sa-

¹⁰⁰ *Festivals.*]—Mr. Savary, with other modern travellers, give us an account of the annual fairs of Ægypt. These are to be considered as the remains of the ancient pilgrimages of the Ægyptians to Canopus, Sais, and Bubastos.

¹⁰¹ *Sais.*]—This place is by some supposed to be the Sin of the scriptures.—T.

cred to the sun; the fifth are those of Latona, at Butos; the next those of Mars, solemnized at Pappremis.

LX. They who meet to celebrate the festival at Bubastos ¹⁰² embark in vessels, a great number of men and women promiscuously mixed. During the passage some of the women ¹⁰³ strike their tabors, accompanied by the men playing on flutes. The rest of both sexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the vessels are brought to shore: of the women some continue their instrumental music, others call aloud to the females of the place, provoke them by injurious language, dance about, and indecently throw aside their garments. This they do at every place near which they pass. On their arrival at Bubastos, the feast commences, by the sacrifice of many victims, and upon this occasion a greater quantity of wine ¹⁰⁴ is

¹⁰² *Bubastos.*]—Savary has translated this passage in his Letters on Ægypt. From a comparison of his version with mine, it is painful to observe he has given to Herodotus what the historian never imagined.—*Larcher.*

¹⁰³ *The women.*]—These, no doubt, are the Almai, which were not then more decent than now.

The Ægyptians since Herodotus have been governed by various nations, and at length are sunk deep in ignorance and slavery, but their true character has undergone no change. The frantic ceremonies the pagan religion authorized are now renewed around the sepulchres of Santons, before the churches of the Copts, and in the fairs I mentioned.—*Savary.*

¹⁰⁴ *Quantity of wine.*]—In the Greek it is wine of the vine, to distinguish it from beer, which he calls barley-wine.—*Larcher.*

Whoever

is consumed than in all the rest of the year. The natives report, that at this solemnity seven hundred thousand ¹⁰⁵ men and women assemble, not to mention children.

LXI. I have before related in what manner the rites of Isis are celebrated at Busiris. After the ceremonies of sacrifice the whole assembly, to the amount of many thousands, flagellate ¹⁰⁶ themselves, but in whose honour they do this I am not at liberty to disclose. The Carians of Ægypt treat themselves at this solemnity with unparalleled severity ¹⁰⁷: they cut themselves in the face with swords, and by this distinguish themselves from the Ægyptian natives.

LXII. At the sacrifice solemnized at Sais, the assembly is held by night; they suspend before their houses in the open air, lamps which are filled with oil

Whoever has not seen a witty and humorous dissertation on *καὶ ἄρβυρος*, or barley-wine, published at Oxford in 1750, may promise himself much entertainment from its perusal.—*T.*

¹⁰⁵ *Seven hundred thousand.*]—For seven hundred thousand, some read only seventy thousand.—*T.*

¹⁰⁶ *Flagellate themselves.*]—The manner in which Voltaire has translated this passage is, too singular to be omitted—"On frappe, dans la ville de Busiris, dit Herodote, les hommes et les femmes après le sacrifice, mais de dire où on les frappe, c'est ce qui ne m'est pas permis."—*Questions sur l'Encyclopédie.*

¹⁰⁷ Xenophanes, the physician, seeing the Ægyptians lament and beat themselves at their festivals, says to them, sensibly enough, "If your gods be gods in reality, cease to lament them; but if they are mortals, forbear to sacrifice to them."—*Plutarch.*

mixed with salt¹⁰⁸; a wick floats at the top, which will burn all night: the feast itself is called the feast of lamps¹⁰⁹. Such of the Ægyptians as do not attend the ceremony think themselves obliged to observe the evening of the festival, and in like manner burn lamps before their houses: thus on this night not Sais only, but all Ægypt is illuminated. A religious motive is assigned for the festival itself, and for the illuminations by which it is distinguished.

LXIII. At Heliopolis and Buto¹¹⁰, sacrifices alone are offered, but at Papremis, as at other places, in addition to the offering of victims, other religious ceremonies are observed. At the close of the day a small number of priests are in immediate attendance upon the statue of Mars; a greater number, armed

¹⁰⁸ *Salt.*]—Salt was constantly used at all entertainments, both of the gods and men, whence a particular sanctity was believed to be lodged in it: it is hence called *θεῖο; αλς*, divine salt, by Homer.—*Potter*.

¹⁰⁹ *Feast of lamps.*]—This feast, which much resembles the feast of lamps observed from time immemorial in China, seems to confirm the opinion of M. de Guignes, who has been the first to intimate that China was a colony from Ægypt.—*Larcher*.

In Ægypt there is no rejoicing, no festival of any consideration at all, unaccompanied with illumination. For this purpose they make use of earthen lamps, which they put into very deep vessels of glass, in such a manner as that the glass is two thirds, or at least one half of its height, higher than the lamp, in order to preserve the light, and prevent its extinction by the wind. The Ægyptians have carried this art to the highest perfection, &c.—*Maillet*.

¹¹⁰ *Buto.*]—This is indifferently written Buto, Butis, and Buto.—*T*.

with clubs, place themselves at the entrance of the temple ; opposite to these may be seen more than a thousand men tumultuously assembled, with clubs also in their hands, to perform their religious vows. The day before the festival they remove the statue of the god, which is kept in a small case decorated with gold, to a different apartment. The priests attendant upon the statue place it, together with its case, on a four-wheeled carriage, and begin to draw it along. Those at the entrance of the temple endeavour to prevent its admission : but the votaries above mentioned come to the succour of the god, and a combat ensues between the two parties, in which many heads are broken, and I should suppose many lives lost, though this the Ægyptians positively deny.

LXIV. The motive for this ceremony is thus explained by the natives of the country :—This temple, they say, was the residence of the mother of Mars : the god himself, who had been brought up at a distance from his parent, on his arrival at man's estate came hither to visit his mother. The attendants, who had never seen him before, not only refused to admit him, but roughly drove him from the place. Obtaining proper assistance, he returned, severely chastised those who had opposed him, and obtained admission to his parent. From this circumstance the above mode of fighting was ever after practised on the festival of Mars : and these people were also the first who made it a point of religion
not

not to communicate carnally with a woman ¹¹¹ in a temple, nor enter any consecrated place after the venereal act, without having first washed. Except the Ægyptians and the Greeks, all other nations without scruple connect themselves with women in their temples, nor think it necessary to wash themselves after such connection, previous to their paying their devotions. In this instance they rank man indiscriminately with other animals; for observing that birds as well as beasts copulate in shrines and temples, they conclude that it cannot be offensive to the deity. Such a mode of reasoning does not by any means obtain my approbation.

¹¹¹ *Communicate carnally with a woman.*]—Mention is made of the Mossyri, called by Apollonius Rhodius, Mossyræci, who copulated in the public streets. See Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, and others.

Next by the sacred hill their oars impel
 Firm Argo, where the Mossyræcians dwell,
 Of manners strange, for they with care conceal
 Those deeds which others openly reveal,
 And actions that in secret should be done
 Perform in public and before the sun;
 For, like the monsters of the brittle drove,
 In public they perform the feats of love.

Fawkes Apollonius Rhod.

Quid ego de Cynicis loquar, quibus in propatulo coire cum conjugibus mos fuit. Lactantius.—See also what Diogenes Laertius says of Crates and Hipparchia. See Bayle on the Adamites and Picards, and also “A Dialogue concerning Decency.”—T. See also Herodotus, book i.

LXV. The superstition of the Ægyptians is conspicuous in various instances, but in this more particularly: notwithstanding the vicinity of their country to Africa, the number of beasts is comparatively small, but all of them, both those which are wild and those which are domestic, are regarded as sacred. If I were to explain the reason of this prejudice, I should be led to the discussion of those sacred subjects, which I particularly wish to avoid¹¹², and which but from necessity I should not have discussed so fully as I have. Their laws compel them to cherish animals; a certain number of men and women are appointed to this office, which is esteemed so honourable¹¹³, that it descends in succession from father to son. In the presence of these animals the inhabitants of the cities perform their vows. They address themselves as supplicants to the divinity, who is supposed to be represented by the animal in whose presence they are; they then cut off their childrens' hair, sometimes the whole

¹¹² *Wish to avoid.*]—The ancients were remarkably scrupulous in every thing which regarded religion; but in the time of Diodorus Siculus strangers did not pay the same reverence to the religious rites of the Ægyptians. This historian was not afraid to acquaint us with the motives which induced the Ægyptians to pay divine honours to animals.—*Larcher.*

See Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. 21.

¹¹³ *Esteemed so honourable.*]—So far from refusing this employ, or being ashamed publicly to exercise it, they make a vain display of it, as if they participated the greatest honours of the gods. When they travel through the cities, or the country, they make known, by certain marks which they exhibit, the particular animal of which they have the care. They who meet them as they journey respect and worship these.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

of it, sometimes half, at other times only a third part; this they weigh in a balance against a piece of silver; as soon as the silver preponderates, they give it to the woman who keeps the beast, she in return feeds the beast with pieces of fish, which is their constant food. It is a capital offence designedly to kill any one of these ¹¹⁴ animals; to destroy one accidentally is punished by a fine, determined by the priests; but whoever, however involuntarily, kills an ibis ¹¹⁵ or an hawk ¹¹⁶ cannot by any means escape death.

LXVI. The number of domestic animals in Ægypt is very great, and would be much greater if

¹¹⁴ *To kill any one of these.*]—The cat was also held in the extreme veneration by the ancient Ægyptians; and Diodorus Siculus relates, that a Roman having by accident killed a cat, the common people instantly surrounded his house with every demonstration of fury. The king's guards were instantly dispatched to rescue him from their rage, but in vain; his authority and the Roman name were equally ineffectual.—In the most extreme necessities of famine, they rather chose to feed on human flesh than on these animals.—*T.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibis.*]—The Ægyptians thus venerated the ibis, because they were supposed to devour the serpents which bred in the ground after the ebbing of the Nile.—*T.*

¹¹⁶ *Hawk.*]—They have a kind of domestic large brown hawk, with a fine eye. One may see the pigeons and hawks standing close to one another. The Turks never kill them, and seem to have a sort of veneration for these birds and for cats, as well as their ancestors. The ancient Ægyptians in this animal worshipped the sun or Osiris, of which the brightness of its eyes was an emblem.—*Pococke.*

Osiris was worshipped at Philæ, under the figure of the Æthiopian hawk.—*T.*

the increase of cats ¹¹⁷ were not thus frustrated—The female cats, when delivered of their young, carefully avoid the company of the males, who to obtain a second commerce with them contrive and execute this stratagem: they steal the young from the mother, which they destroy, but do not eat. This animal, which is very fond of its young, from its desire to have more, again covets the company of the male. In every accident of fire, the cats seem to be actuated by some supernatural ¹¹⁸ impulse; for the Ægyptians surrounding the place which is burning appear to be occupied with no thought but that of preserving their cats. These, however, by stealing between the legs of the spectators, or by leaping over their heads, endeavour

¹¹⁷ *If the increase of cats, &c.*—There occurs, I own, a difficulty in the Ægyptian system of theology. It is evident from their method of propagation, that a couple of cats in fifty years would stock a whole kingdom. If religious veneration were paid them, it would in twenty more not only be easier in Ægypt to find a god than a man, (which Petronius says was the case in some parts of Italy) but the gods must at last entirely starve the men, and leave themselves neither priests nor votaries remaining. It is probable, therefore, that this wise nation, the most celebrated in antiquity for prudence and sound policy, foreseeing such dangerous consequences, reserved all their worship for the full-grown divinities, and used the freedom to drown the holy spawn, or little sucking gods, without any scruple or remorse. And thus the practice of warping the tenets of religion, in order to serve temporal interests, is not by any means to be regarded as an invention of these later ages.—*Hume*.

¹¹⁸ *Supernatural.*—It is astonishing that Herodotus should see this as a prodigy. The cat is a timid animal, fire makes it more so: the precautions taken to prevent its perishing frighten it still more, and deprive it of its sagacity.—*Larcher*.

to dart into the flames. This circumstance, whenever it happens, diffuses universal sorrow ¹¹⁹. In whatever family a cat by accident happens to die, every individual cuts off his eye-brows ¹²⁰; but on the death of a dog ¹²¹ they shave their heads and every part of their bodies.

LXVII.

¹¹⁹ *Universal sorrow.*]—One method of mourning prevalent in the East, was to assemble in multitudes, and bewail aloud. In a manuscript of Sir John Chardin, part of which has been given in the work of Mr. Harmer, we have this remark: "It is the genius of the people of Asia to express their sentiments of joy and grief aloud. These their transports are ungoverned, excessive, and truly outrageous." See Harmer, vol. ii. p. 136.

¹²⁰ *Cuts off his eye-brows.*]—The custom of cutting off the hair in mourning appears to have obtained in the East in the prophetic times.

Among the ancient Greeks it was sometimes laid upon the dead body, sometimes cast into the funeral pile, and sometimes placed upon the grave.

Women in the deep mourning of captivity, shaved off their hair. "Then thou shalt bring her home to thine house, and she shall shave her head and pare her nails." *Deuteronomy*, xxi. 12.

Maillet says, that in the East the women that attend a corpse to the grave generally have their hair hanging loose about their ears.

¹²¹ *Death of a dog.*]—In this respect Plutarch differs from Herodotus. He allows that these animals were at one time esteemed holy, but it was before the time of Cambyses. From the era of his reign they were held in another light; for when this king killed the sacred Apis, the dogs fed so liberally upon his entrails, without making a proper distinction, that they lost all their sanctity. But they were certainly of old looked upon as sacred; and it was perhaps with a view to this, and to prevent the Israelites retaining any notion of this nature, that a dog was not suffered to come within the precincts of the temple of Jerusalem.

LXVII. The cats when dead are carried to sacred buildings, and after being salted ¹²² are buried in the city Bubastis. Of the canine species, the females are buried in consecrated chests, wherever they may happen to die, which ceremony is also observed with respect to the ichneumons ¹²³. The
 threw-

Jerusalem. In the Mosaic law, the price of a dog, and the hire of a harlot, are put upon the same level. See Deuteronomy, xxiii. 18. "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore nor the price of a dog into the house of the Lord thy God for any vow, for both these are an abomination to the Lord thy God."—*Bryant*.

It is because the dog was consecrated to Anubis, that he was represented with a dog's head. Virgil and Ovid call him Latrator Anubis; Propertius and Prudentius, Latrans Anubis.—*Larcher*.

At the present day dogs are considered in the East as defiling: they do not suffer them in their houses, and ever with care avoid touching them in the streets. By the ancient Jews, as remarked before, they were considered in a disagreeable light. "Am I a dog?" says the Philistine to David. "What is thy servant a dog?" says Hazael, &c. See Harmer, vol. i. p. 220. It may indeed be observed, that in most countries and languages the word dog is a term of contempt. "I took by the throat the uncircumcised dog."—*T*.

¹²² *After being salted.*]—Diodorus Siculus says the same thing, and he also describes the process used on the occasion.—*T*.

¹²³ *Ichneumon*]—is found both in Upper and Lower Egypt. It creeps slowly along, as if ready to seize its prey; it feeds on plants, eggs, and fowls. In Upper Egypt it searches for the eggs of the crocodile, which lie hid in the sand, and eats them, thereby preventing the increase of that animal. It may be easily tamed, and goes about the houses like a cat. It makes a growling noise, and barks when it is very angry. The French in Egypt have called this Rat de Pharaon. Alpinus and Beil-

shrew-mice and hawks are always removed to Buto; the ibis to Hermopolis ¹²⁴; the bears, an animal rarely seen in Ægypt, and the wolves ¹²⁵, which are not much bigger than foxes, are buried in whatever place they die.

LXVIII. I proceed now to describe the nature of the crocodile ¹²⁶, which during the four severer months of winter eats nothing: it is a quadruped, but amphibious; it is also oviparous, and deposits its eggs in the sand; the greater part of the day it spends on shore, but all the night in the

nius, following this, have called it *Mus Pharaonis*. The resemblance it has to a mouse in colour and hair, might have induced people ignorant of natural history to call it a mouse; but why Pharaoh's mouse? The Ægyptians were in the time of Pharaoh too intelligent to call it a mouse: nor is it at this day called *phar* by the Arabs, which is the name for mouse; they call it *nems*. What is related concerning its entering the jaws of the crocodile is fabulous.—*Hasselquist*.

¹²⁴ *Hermopolis*.]—There were in Ægypt two places of this name, Westeling supposes Herodotus to speak of that in the Thebaid.—*T*.

¹²⁵ *Wolves*.]—Hasselquist did not meet with either of these animals in Ægypt.

Wolves were honoured in Ægypt, says Eusebius, probably from their resemblance to the dog. Some relate, that the Æthiopians having made an expedition against Ægypt, were put to flight by a vast number of wolves, which occasioned the place where the incident happened to be called Lycopolis.

¹²⁶ *Of the crocodile*.]—The general nature and properties of the crocodile are sufficiently known. I shall therefore be contented with giving the reader, from different authors, such particulars of this extraordinary animal as are less notorious. The circumstance

water, as being warmer than the external air¹²⁷, whose cold is increased by the dew. No animal that I have seen or known, from being at first so remarkably diminutive grows to so vast a size. The

circumstance of their eating nothing during the four severe winter months seems to be untrue.

The excrements do not appear to pass through the anus, they pass through the gut into the ventricle, and are vomited up. Under the shoulder of the old crocodile is a folliculus containing a thick matter, which smells like musk, a perfume much esteemed in Egypt. When the male copulates with the female, he turns her with his snout on her back.

The fat of the crocodile is used by the Egyptians against the rheumatism. The gall is thought good for the eyes, and for barrenness in women. The eyes are an aphrodisiac, and as Hasselquist affirms, esteemed by the Arabs superior even to ambergrease.

When the ancient prophets in the Old Testament speak of a dragon, a crocodile is generally to be understood. "Am I a sea or a jannin?" See Job, vii. 12; where, according to Harmer, a crocodile alone can be meant. The animal is of most extraordinary strength. "One of twelve feet," says Maillet, "after a long fall threw down with the stroke of his tail five or six men, and a bale of coffee." They sleep in the sun, but not soundly. They seldom descend below the Thebais, and never below Grand Cairo. Some have been seen fifty feet long. Herodotus says it has no tongue, but it has a fleshy substance like a tongue, which serves it to turn its meat: it is said to move only the upper jaw, and to lay fifty eggs. It is not a little remarkable, that the ancient name being *champsia*, the Egyptians now call it *timshah*.—T.

¹²⁷ *Warmer than the external air.*]—Water exposed to violent heat during the day preserves its warmth in the night, and is then much less cold than the external air.—Larcher.

From consulting modern travellers, we find the remarks of Herodotus on the crocodile, excepting only the particularities which we have pointed out, confirmed.—T.

eggs are not larger than those of geese : on leaving the shell the young is proportionably small, but when arrived at its full size it is sometimes more than seventeen cubits in length : it has eyes like a hog ¹²⁸, teeth large and prominent, in proportion to the dimensions of its body; but, unlike all other animals, it has no tongue. It is further and most singularly distinguished by only moving its upper jaw. Its feet are armed with strong fangs; the skin is protected by hard scales regularly divided. In the open air its sight is remarkably acute, but it cannot see at all in the water : living in the water its throat is always full of leeches; beasts and birds universally avoid it, the trochilus alone excepted, which, from a sense of gratitude, it treats with kindness. When the crocodile leaves the water, it reclines itself on the sand, and generally towards the west, with its mouth open : the trochilus entering its throat destroys the leeches; in acknowledgment

¹²⁸ *Eyes like a hog.*]—The leviathan of Job is variously understood by critics for the whale and the crocodile. Both these animals are remarkable for the smallness of their eyes, in proportion to the bulk of their bodies : those of the crocodile are said to be extremely piercing out of the water; in which sense therefore the poet's expression, "its eyes are like the eye-lids of the morning," can only be applicable. Dr. Young, in his paraphrase on this part of Job, describing the crocodile as the animal intended in the original, has given the image an erroneous reference to the magnitude rather than the brightness of its eye.

Large is his front, and when his burnish'd eyes
Lift their broad lids, the morning seems to rise.

Dr. Aikin, Poetical Use of Nat. Hist.
for

for which service it never does the trochilus injury.

LXIX. This animal, by many of the Ægyptians, is esteemed sacred ¹²⁹, by others it is treated as an enemy ¹³⁰. They who live near Thebes, and the lake Moeris, hold the crocodile in religious veneration: they select one, which they render tame and docile, suspending golden ornaments from its ears ¹³¹, and sometimes gems of value; the fore feet are secured by a chain. They feed it with the flesh of

¹²⁹ *Esteemed sacred.*]—On this subject we have the following singular story in Maximus Tyrius. An Ægyptian woman brought up the young one of a crocodile. The Ægyptians esteemed her singularly fortunate, and revered her as the nurse of a deity. The woman had a son about the same age with the crocodile, and they grew up and played together. No harm ensued whilst the crocodile was gentle from being weak; but when it got its strength it devoured the child. The woman exulted in the death of her son, and considered his fate as blessed in the extreme, in thus becoming the victim of their domestic god.—*T.*

¹³⁰ *Treated as an enemy.*]—These were the people of Tentyra in particular, now called Dandera, they were famous for their intrepidity as well as art in overcoming crocodiles. For a particular account of their manner of treating them, see Pliny, book viii. chap. 25.—*T.*

¹³¹ *Ornaments from its ears.*]—This seems to suppose, that the crocodile has ears externally, nevertheless those which the Sultan sent to Louis the Fourteenth, and which the academy of sciences dissected, had none. They found in them indeed apertures of the ears placed below the eyes, but concealed and covered with skin, which had the appearance of two eye-lids entirely closed. When the animal was alive, and out of the water, these lids probably opened. However this may be, it was, as may be presumed, to these membranes that the ear-rings were fixed.—*Larcher.*

the sacred victims, and with other appointed food. While it lives they treat it with unceasing attention, and when it dies it is first embalmed, and afterwards deposited in a sacred chest. They who live in or near Elephantine, so far from considering these beasts as sacred, make them an article of food: they call them not crocodiles, but champse¹³². The name of crocodiles was first imposed by the Ionians, from their resemblance to lizards so named by them, which are produced in the hedges,

LXX. Among the various methods that are used to take the crocodile¹³³, I shall only relate one which most deserves attention: they fix on a hook a piece of swine's flesh, and suffer it to float into the middle of the stream; on the banks they have a live hog, which they beat till it cries out. The crocodile hearing the noise makes towards it, and in the way encounters and devours the bait. They

¹³² *Champse.*]—The crocodile had many names, such as carmin, fouchus, campsa. This last signified an ark or receptacle.—*Bryant.*

¹³³ *To take the crocodile.*]—The most common way of killing the crocodile is by shooting it. The ball must be directed towards the belly, where the skin is soft, and not armed with scales like the back. Yet they give an account of a method of catching them something like that which Herodotus relates. They make some animal cry at a distance from the river, and when the crocodile comes out they thrust a spear into his body, to which a rope is tied: they then let him go into the water to spend himself; and afterwards drawing him out, run a pole into his mouth, and jumping on his back tie his jaws together.

Pecche.

then

then draw it on shore, and the first thing they do is to fill its eyes with clay; it is thus easily manageable, which it otherwise would not be.

LXXI. The hippopotamus ¹³⁴ is esteemed sacred

¹³⁴ *The hippopotamus.*]—It is to be observed, that the hippopotamos and crocodile were symbols of the same purport: both related to the deluge, and however the Greeks might sometimes represent them, they were both in different places revered by the ancient Ægyptians.—*Bryant*, who refers his reader on this subject to the Isis and Osiris of *Plutarch*,

The hippopotamos is generally supposed to be the behemoth of scripture. *Maillet* says his skin is two fingers thick; and that it is so much the more difficult to kill it as there is only a small place in its forehead where it is vulnerable. *Hasselquist* classes it not with the amphibia but quadrupeds. It is an inveterate enemy to the crocodile, and kills it wherever it meets it. It never appears below the cataracts. The hide is a load for a camel: *Maillet* speaks of one which would have been a heavy load for four camels. He does great injury to the Ægyptians, destroying in a very short time an entire field of corn or clover. Their manner of destroying it is too curious to be omitted: they place in his way a great quantity of pease; the beast filling himself with these, they occasion an intolerable thirst. Upon these he drinks large draughts of water, and the Ægyptians afterwards find him dead on the shore, blown up as if killed with the strongest poison. *Pennant* relates, in his *Synopsis of Animals*, other and more plausible means of taking this animal. Its voice is between the roaring of a bull and the braying of an elephant. It is at first interrupted with frequent short pauses, but may be heard at a great distance. The oftener he goes on shore, the better hopes have the Ægyptians of a sufficient increase of the Nile. His food, they say, can be almost distinguished in his excrements. *Pococke* calls it a fish, and says that he was able to obtain little information concerning it.

The above particulars are compiled chiefly from *Hasselquist*, *Maillet*, and *Pennant*.—F

in the district of Papremis, but in no other part of Ægypt. I shall describe its nature and properties : it is a quadruped, its feet are cloven, and it has hoofs like an ox ; the nose is short, but turned up, the teeth prominent ; it resembles a horse in its mane, its tail, and its voice : it is of the size of a very large ox, and it has a skin so remarkably thick, that when dried it is made into offensive weapons.

LXXII. The Nile also produces otters, which the Ægyptians venerate, as they also do the fish called lepitodus, and the eel ¹⁵⁵ : these are sacred to the Nile, as among the birds is one called the chenalopex ¹⁵⁶.

LXXIII. They have also another sacred bird, which, except in a picture, I have never seen : it is

¹⁵⁵ *The eel.*]—Antiphanes in Athenæus, addressing himself to the Ægyptians, says, “ You adore the ox ; I sacrifice to the gods. You reverence the eel as a very powerful deity ; we consider it as the daintiest of food.” Antiphanes, and the Greek writers, who amused themselves with ridiculing the religious ceremonies of Ægypt, were doubtless ignorant of the motive which caused this particular fish to be proscribed. The flesh of the eel, and some other fish, thickened the blood, and by checking the perspiration excited all those maladies connected with the leprosy. The priests forbade the people to eat it, and to render their prohibition more effectual, they pretended to regard these fish as sacred. M. Paw pretends that the Greeks have been in an error in placing the eel amongst the sacred fish, but I have always to say to that learned man, where are your proofs ?—*Larcher.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ghenalopex.*]—This bird in figure greatly resembles the goose, but it has all the art and cunning of the fox.—*Larcher.*

called

called the phoenix ¹³⁷. It is very uncommon even among themselves; for according to the Heliopolitans, it comes there but once in the course of five hundred years, and then only at the decease of the parent bird. If it bear any resemblance to its picture, the wings are partly of a gold and partly of a ruby colour, and its form and size perfectly like the eagle. They relate one thing of it which surpasses all credibility: they say that it comes from Arabia to the temple of the sun, bearing the dead body of its parent inclosed in myrrh, which it buries. It makes a ball of myrrh shaped like an egg, as large as it is able to carry, which it proves by experiment. This done, it excavates the mass, into which it introduces the body of the dead bird; it again closes the aperture with myrrh, and the whole

¹³⁷ *Phoenix*.]—From what is related of this bird the Phœnicians gave the name phoenix to the palm-tree, because when burnt down to the ground it springs up again fairer and stronger than ever.

The ancient christians also refer to the phoenix, as a type of the resurrection.—T.

We find the following remark in *Thomæsius de Plagio Literario*.

Herodotus in secundo ex historica Hecætaei M.lli narratione quamplurima verbis totidem exscripsisse dicitur, pauca quadam leviter e mentitus, cujusmodi sunt, que de phœnice ave, de que fluviali equo et crocodilorum venatione commemorat, p. 204.

As to what he may have borrowed from Hecætaeus, nothing can be said, but the term ‘leviter mentitus’ does not appear to be candidly applicable to a writer who, in this book particularly, tells you in every page that he only relates the information he received, and who professedly regards the story of the phoenix as fabulous.—T.

becomes

becomes the same weight as when composed entirely of myrrh; it then proceeds to Ægypt to the temple of the sun.

LXXIV. In the vicinity of Thebes there are also sacred serpents ¹³⁸, not at all troublesome to men: they are very small, but have two horns on the top of the head. When they die, they are buried in the temple of Jupiter, to whom they are said to belong.

LXXV. There is a place in Arabia, near the city Butos, which I visited for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the winged serpent ¹³⁹. I saw here a prodigious quantity of serpents

¹³⁸ *Sacred serpents.*]—The symbolical worship of the serpent was in the first ages very extensive, and was introduced into all the mysteries wherever celebrated. It is remarkable that wherever the Amonians founded any places of worship, there was generally some story of a serpent. There was a legend about a serpent at Colchis, at Thebes, and at Delphi, &c.—*Bryant*.

The Ægyptians worshipped the goodness of the creator under the name of Cneph. The symbol, according to Eusebius, was a serpent. "The serpent within a circle, touching it at the two opposite points of its circumference, signifies the good genius."

These serpents, honoured by the name of Haridi, still are famous, as treated by the priests of Achmin.—*Savary*.

We have already observed, that the serpent was a symbol of the sun, which the Ægyptians gave a place in their sacred tables. Nor did they content themselves with placing the serpent with their gods, but often represented even the gods themselves with the body and tail of a serpent joined to their own head.—*Montfaucon*.

¹³⁹ *Winged serpent.*]—We ought not to be too prompt either

pents bones and ribs placed on heaps of different heights. The place itself is a strait betwixt two mountains, it opens upon a wide plain which communicates with Ægypt. They affirm, that in the commencement of every spring these winged serpents fly from Arabia towards Ægypt, but that the ibis ¹⁴⁰ here meets and destroys them. The Arabians say, that in acknowledgment of this service the Ægyptians hold the ibis in great reverence, which is not contradicted by that people.

LXXVI. One species of the ibis is entirely black,

to believe, or the contrary, things which are uncommon. Although I have never seen winged serpents, I believe that they exist; for a Phrygian brought into Ionia a scorpion which had wings like those of the grasshopper.—*Pausanias*.

“The burden of the beasts of the south: into the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come the young and old lion, the viper, and fiery flying serpent, &c.”—*Isaiah*, xxx. 6.

De serpentibus memorandi maxime, quos parvos admodum et veneni præsentis, certo anni tempore ex limo concretarum patulorum emergere in magno examine volantes Ægyptum tendere, atque in ipso introitu sinuum ab avibus quas ibidas appellant, adverso agmine excipi pugnaque confici traditum est.—*Pomponius Mela*.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibis*.]—The ibis was a bird with a long neck and a crooked beak, not much unlike the stork; his legs were long and stiff, and when he put his head and neck under his wing, the figure he made, as Ælian says, was something like a man's heart. It is said, that the use of clysters was first found out from observations made of this bird's applying that remedy to himself, by the help of his long neck and beak. It is reported of it, that it could live no where but in Ægypt, but would pine itself to death if transported to another country.—*Menisæus*.

black, its beak remarkably crooked, its legs as large as those of a crane, and in size it resembles the crex: this is the enemy of the serpents. The second species is the most common: these have the head and the whole of the neck naked; the plumage is white, except that on the head, the neck, the extremities of the wings, and the tail, these are of a deep black colour, but the legs and the beak resemble in all respects those of the other species. The form of the flying and of the aquatic serpents is the same: the wings of the former are not feathered, but entirely like those of the bats.—And thus I have finished my account of the sacred animals.

LXXVII. Those Ægyptians who live in the cultivated parts of the country are of all whom I have seen, the most ingenious, being attentive to the improvement of the memory ⁴¹ beyond the rest of mankind. To give some idea of their mode of life: for

In contradiction to the above, M. Larcher informs us, that one was kept for several years in the Ménagerie at Versailles.—*T.*

Hasselquist calls the *Ardea ibis*, the ibis of the ancient Ægyptians, because it is very common in Ægypt, and almost peculiar to that country; because it eats and destroys serpents; and because the urns found in sepulchres contain a bird of this size: it is of the size of a raven hen.

⁴¹ *Of the memory.*]—The invention of local memory is ascribed to Simonides. “Much,” says Cicero, “do I thank Simonides of Chios, who first of all invented the art of memory.” Simonides is by some authors affirmed to have taken medicines to acquire this accomplishment.—*See Bayle, article Simonides.*

Mr. Hume remarks, that the faculty of memory was much more

for three days successively in every month they use purges, vomits, and clysters; this they do out of attention to their health ⁴², being persuaded that the diseases of the body are occasioned by the different elements received as food. Besides this, we may venture to assert, that after the Africans there is no people in health and constitution ⁴³ to be compared with the Ægyptians. To this advantage

more valued in ancient times than at present; that there is scarce any great genius celebrated in antiquity, who is not celebrated for this talent, and it is enumerated by Cicero amongst the sublime qualities of Cæsar.—7.

⁴² *Their health, &c.*]—This assertion was true previous to the time of Herodotus, and a long time afterwards; but when they began to neglect the canals, the water putrefied, and the vapours which were exhaled rendering the air of Ægypt very unhealthy, malignant fevers soon began to appear: these became epidemical, and these vapours concentrating and becoming every day more pestilential, finally caused that dreadful malady known by the name of the plague. It was not so before canals were sunk at all, or as long as they were kept in good order: but probably that part of Lower Ægypt which inclines to Elcarchis has never been healthy.—*Larcher*.

⁴³ *Health and constitution.*]—It is of this country, which seems to have been regarded by nature with a favourable eye, that the gods have made a sort of terrestrial paradise.—The air there is more pure and excellent than in any other part of the world; the women, and the females of other species, are more fruitful than any where else; the lands are more productive. As the men there commonly enjoy perfect health, the trees and plants never lose their verdure, and the fruits are always delicious, or at least salutary. It is true, that this air, good as it is, is subject to be corrupted in some proportion to other climates. It is even bad in those parts where, when the inundations of the Nile have been very great, this river in

rage the climate, which is here subject to no variations, may essentially contribute: changes of all kinds, and those in particular of the seasons, promote and occasion the maladies of the body. To their bread, which they make with spelt, they give the name of *cyllestis*; they have no vines¹⁴⁴ in the

returning to its channel, leaves marshy places, which infect the country round about: the dew is also very dangerous in Ægypt.

Quoted from Maillet, by Harmer in his Observations on Scripture.

Pococke says, that the dew of Ægypt occasions very dangerous disorders in the eyes; but he adds, that they have the plague very rarely in Ægypt, unless brought by infection to Alexandria, where it does not commonly spread. Some suppose that this distemper breeds in temperate weather, and that excessive cold and heat stops it; so that they have it not in Constantinople in winter, nor in Ægypt in summer. The air of Cairo in particular is not thought to be wholesome; the people are much subject to fluxes, and troubled with ruptures; the small-pox also is common, but not dangerous; pulmonary diseases are unknown. Savary speaks in high terms of the healthiness of the climate, but allows that the season from February to the end of May is unhealthy. Volney, who contradicts Savary in many of his assertions, confirms what he says of the climate of Ægypt.—*T.*

¹⁴⁴ *No vines.*]—That there must have been vines in some parts of Ægypt, is evident from the following passage in the book of Numbers: “And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Ægypt, to bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of seed or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink.” Larcher therefore supposes Herodotus to speak only of that part of Ægypt where corn was cultivated. Again, in the Psalms, we have this passage: “He destroyed their vines with hail-stones.” Ægypt, however, certainly never was a wine country, nor is it now productive

the country, but they drink a liquor fermented from barley¹⁴⁵; they live principally upon fish, either

ductive of a quantity adequate to the wants of the inhabitants.
—*T.*

The Greeks were wrong, says Savary, in wishing to establish a perfect resemblance betwixt Bacchus and Osiris. The first was honoured as the author of the vine; but the Egyptians, far from attributing its culture to Osiris, held wine in abhorrence. “The Egyptians,” says Plutarch, “never drank wine before the time of Plammetchus; they held this liquor to be the blood of the giants, who having made war on the gods, had perished in battle, and that the vine sprang from the earth mingled with their blood; nor did they offer it in libations, thinking it odious to the gods.” Whence the Oriental aversion for wine originated, would be difficult to say, but exist it did, which probably was one reason why it was forbidden by Mahomet. Perhaps we should seek for the cause in the curse of Noah, pronounced upon Ham, who insulted his father finding him drunk.—*Savary.*

In the time of Homer the vine grew wild in the island of Sicily, but it was not improved by the skill, nor did it afford a liquor grateful to the taste of the savage inhabitants.—*Gibbon.*

Of the small quantity of wine made anciently in Egypt, some was carried to Rome, and, according to Maillet, was the third in esteem of their wines.—*T.*

¹⁴⁵ *Fermented from barley.*]—See a Dissertation on Barley Wine, before alluded to, where, amongst a profusion of witty and humorous remarks, much real information is communicated on this subject.—*T.*

The most vulgar people make a sort of beer of barley, without being malted; they put something in it to make it intoxicate, and call it *bouny*: they make it ferment; ’tis thick and sour, and will not keep longer than three or four days.—*Pecocke.*

The invention of this liquor of barley is universally attributed to Osiris.—*T.*

An Englishman may in this place be excused, if he assert with some degree of pride, that the “wine of barley”

either salted ¹⁴⁶ or dried in the sun: they eat also quails ¹⁴⁷, ducks, and some smaller birds, without other preparation than first salting them; but they roast and boil such other birds and fishes as they have, excepting those which are preserved for sacred purposes.

LXXVIII. At the entertainments of the rich, just as the company is about to rise from the repast, a small coffin is carried round, containing a perfect representation of a dead body: it is in size sometimes of one but never of more than two cubits, and as it is shewn to the guests in rotation, the bearer exclaims, "Cast your eyes on this figure,

made in this country, or in other words British beer, is superior to what is made in any other part of the world: the beer of Bremen is however deservedly famous. It has been asserted by some, that our brewers throw dead dogs fleeced into the wort, and boil them till the flesh is all consumed. "Others," say the authors of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "more equitable, attribute the excellency of our beer to the quality of our malt and water, and skill of our brewers."—*T.*

¹⁴⁶ *Salted.*]—A distinction must here be observed betwixt sea-salt and fossil-salt: the Egyptians abhorred the former, but made no scruple of using the latter.—*T.*

¹⁴⁷ *Quails.*]—"The quails of Egypt are esteemed a great delicacy, are of the size of a turtle dove, and called by Hasselquist, *Tetrao Israelitarum*." A dispute, however, has arisen amongst the learned, whether the food of the Israelites in the desert was a bird; many suppose that they fed on locusts. Their immense quantities seem to form an argument in favour of this latter opinion, not easily to be set aside; to which may be added, that the Arabs at the present day eat locusts when fresh, and esteem them when salted a great delicacy.—*T.*

after death you yourself will resemble it ; drink then, and be happy.”—Such are the customs they observe at entertainments.

LXXIX. They contentedly adhere to the customs of their ancestors, and are averse to foreign manners ¹⁴⁸. Among other things which claim our approbation, they have a song*, which is also used
in

¹⁴⁸ *Averse to foreign manners.*]—The attachment of the Ægyptians to their country has been a frequent subject of remark ; it is nevertheless singular, that great numbers of them anciently lived as servants in other lands. Mr. Harmer observes, that Hagar was an Ægyptian, with many others ; and that it will not be easy to pick out from the Old Testament accounts an equal number of servants of other countries, that lived in foreign lands mentioned there.—*T.*

* *They have a song.*]—Linus, says Diodorus Siculus, was the first inventor of melody amongst the Greeks. We are told by Athenæus, that the strain called Linus was very melancholy. Linus was supposed to have been the first lyric poet in Greece, and was the master of Orpheus, Thamyris, and Hercules.

Plutarch, from Heraclides of Pontus, mentions certain dirges as composed by Linus ; his death gave rise to a number of songs in honour of his memory : to these Homer is supposed to allude in the following lines :

To these a youth awakes the warbling strings,
Whose tender lay the fate of Linus sings ;
In measured dance behind him move the train,
Tune soft the voice, and answer to the strain.

Pope.

Song in Greece is supposed to have preceded the use of letters.—Not only the Ægyptians, but the Hebrews, Arabians, Assyrians, Persians, and Indians had their national songs.

in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and other places, where it is differently named. Of all the things which astonished me in Ægypt, nothing more perplexed me than my curiosity to know whence the Ægyptians learned this song, so entirely resembling the Linus of the Greeks; it is of the remotest antiquity among them, and they call it Maneros. They have a tradition that Maneros was the only son of their first monarch; and that having prematurely died, they instituted these melancholy strains in his honour, constituting their first and in earlier times their only song.

LXXX. The Ægyptians surpass all the Greeks, the Lacedæmonians excepted, in the reverence¹⁴⁹ which they pay to age: if a young person meet his senior,

Montaigne has preserved an original Caribbean song, which he does not hesitate to declare worthy of Anacreon.

“Oh, snake, slay; slay, O snake, that my sister may draw from the pattern of thy painted skin the fashion and work of a rich ribbon, which I mean to present to my mistress: so may thy beauty and thy disposition be preferred to all other serpents. Oh snake, slay!” *Ritfen’s Essay on National Song.*

¹⁴⁹ *Reverence, &c.*]—The following story is related by Valerius Maximus: An old Athenian going to the theatre, was not able to find a place amongst his countrymen; coming by accident where the ambassadors from Sparta were sitting, they all respectfully rose, and gave him the place of honour amongst them. The people were loud in their applause, which occasioned a Spartan to remark, that the Athenians were not ignorant of virtue, though they forbore to practise it.

Juvénal, reprobating the dissipation and profligacy of the times in which he lived, expresses himself thus:

Credebant

senior, he instantly turns aside to make way for him; if a senior enter an apartment, the youth always rise from their seats; this ceremony is observed by no other of the Greeks. When the Ægyptians meet they do not speak, but make a profound reverence, bowing with the hand down to the knee.

LXXXI. Their habit, which they call *calasiris*¹⁵⁰, is made of linen, and fringed at the bottom;

Credebant hoc grande nefas et morte pium
Si juvenis vetulo non assurrexerat, et si
Barbato cuicumque puer.

As if the not paying a becoming reverence to age was the highest mark of degeneracy which could be shown.

Savary tells his readers, that the reverence here mentioned is at this day in Ægypt exhibited on every occasion to those advanced in years. Various modes of testifying respect are adopted amongst different nations, but this of rising from the seat seems to be in a manner instinctive, and to prevail every where.—*T*.

¹⁵⁰ *Calasiris*.]—This *calasiris* they wore next the skin, and it seems to have served them both for shirt and habit, it being the custom of the Ægyptians to go lightly clothed; it appears also to have been in use amongst the Greeks.—See Montfaucon. Pococke, with other modern travellers, inform us that the dress of the Ægyptians seems to have undergone very little change; the most simple dress being only a long shirt with wide sleeves, tied about the middle. When they performed any religious offices, we find from Herodotus, they were clothed only in linen; and at this day when the Ægyptians enter a mosque they put on a white garment; which circumstance, Pococke remarks, might probably give rise to the use of the surplice. To this simplicity of dress in the men, it appears that the dress of the females, in coarseness and magnificence, exhibits a striking contrast.—*T*.

over this they throw a kind of shawl made of white wool, but in these vests of wool they are forbidden by their religion either to be buried or to enter any sacred edifice; this is a peculiarity of those ceremonies which are called Orphic¹⁵¹ and Pythagorean¹⁵²: whoever has been initiated in these mysteries can never be interred in a vest of wool, for which a sacred reason is assigned.

LXXXII. Of the Ægyptians it is further memorable, that they first imagined what month or day was to be consecrated to each deity; they also

¹⁵¹ *Orphic.*]—Those initiated into Orpheus's mysteries were called Orpheolelestai, who assured all admitted into their society of certain felicity after death: which when Philip, one of that order, but miserably poor and indigent, boasted of, Leotychidas the Spartan replied, "Why do you not die then, you fool, and put an end to your misfortunes together with your life?" At their initiation little else was required of them besides an oath of secrecy.—*Potter.*

So little do we know about Orpheus, that Aristotle does not scruple to question his existence. The celebrated Orphic verses cited by Justin are judged by Dr. Jortin to be forgeries.—*T.*

¹⁵² *Pythagorean.*]—To be minute in our account of the school of Pythagoras, would perhaps be trifling with the patience of some readers, whilst to pass it over without any notice might give offence to others. Born at Samos, he travelled to various countries, but Ægypt was the great source from which he derived his knowledge. On his return to his country, he was followed by numbers of his disciples; from hence came a croud of legislators, philosophers, and scholars, the pride of Greece. To the disciples of Pythagoras the world is doubtless indebted for the discovery of numbers, of the principles of music, of physics, and of morals.—*T.*

from

from observing the days of nativity¹⁵³, venture to predict the particular circumstances of a man's life and death: this is done by the poets of Greece, but the Ægyptians have certainly discovered more things that are wonderful than all the rest of mankind. Whenever any unusual circumstance occurs, they commit the particulars to writing, and mark the events which follow it: if they afterwards observe any similar incident, they conclude that the result will be similar also.

LXXXIII. The art of divination¹⁵⁴ in Ægypt is confined to certain of their deities. There are in this country oracles of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerva and Diana, of Mars, and of Jupiter; but the oracle of Latona at Butos is held in greater estimation than any of the rest: the oracular communication is regulated by no fixed system, but is differently obtained in different places.

¹⁵³ *Days of nativity.*]—Many illustrious characters have in all ages and countries given way to this weakness; but that such a man as Dryden should place confidence in such prognostications, cannot fail to impress the mind with conviction of the melancholy truth, that the most exalted talents are seldom without their portion of infirmity.

Casting the nativity, or by calculation seeking to know how long the queen should live, was made felony by act of the 23d of Elizabeth.

Sully also was marked by this weakness; and Richelieu and Mazarin kept an astrologer in pay.—See an ingenious Essay upon the Dæmon of Socrates.—T.

¹⁵⁴ *Art of divination.*]—Of such high importance was this art anciently esteemed, that no military expedition was undertaken without the presence of one or more of these diviners.

LXXXIV. The art of medicine ¹⁵⁵ in Ægypt is thus exercised: one physician is confined to the study and management of one disease; there are of course a great number who practise this art; some attend to disorders of the eyes, others to those of the head; some take care of the teeth, others are conversant with all diseases of the bowels; whilst many attend to the cure of maladies which are less conspicuous.

LXXXV. With respect to their funerals and ceremonies of mourning; whenever a man of any importance dies, the females of his family ¹⁵⁶, dis-
figuring

¹⁵⁵ *Art of medicine.*]—It is remarkable, with regard to medicine, that none of the sciences sooner arrived at perfection; for in the space of two thousand years, elapsed since the time of Hippocrates, there has scarcely been added a new aphorism to those of that great man, notwithstanding all the care and application of so many ingenious men as have since studied that science.—*Outens.*

With respect to the state of surgery amongst the ancients, a perusal of Homer alone will be sufficient to satisfy every candid reader, that their knowledge and skill was far from contemptible. Celsus gives an exact account and description of the operation for the stone, which implies both a knowledge of anatomy, and some degree of perfection in the art of instrument-making.

The three qualities, says Bayle, of a good physician, are probity, learning, and good fortune; and whoever peruses the oath which anciently every professor of medicine was obliged to take, must both acknowledge its merit as a composition, and admire the amiable disposition which it inculcates.—*T.*

¹⁵⁶ *Females of his family.*]—“I was awakened before day-break by the same troop of women; their dismal cries suited very well with the lonely hour of the night. This mourning lasts for
the

figuring their heads and faces with dirt, leave the corpse in the house, and run publickly about, accompanied by their female relations, with their garments in disorder, their breasts exposed, and beating themselves severely: the men on their parts do the same, after which the body is carried to the embalmers ¹⁵⁷.

LXXXVI.

the space of seven days, during which interval the female relations of the deceased make a tour through the town morning and night, beating their breasts, throwing ashes on their heads, and displaying every artificial token of sorrow."—*Irwin*.

The assembling together of multitudes to the place where persons have lately expired, and bewailing them in a noisy manner, is a custom still retained in the East, and seems to be considered as an honour done to the deceased.—*Harmer*. This gentleman relates a curious circumstance corroborative of the above, from the MS. of Chardin; see vol. ii. 136.

¹⁵⁷ *Embalmers.*]—The following remarks on the subject of embalming are compiled from different writers.

The Jews embalmed their dead, but instead of embowelling, were contented with an external unction. The present way in Egypt, according to Maillet, is to wash the body repeatedly with rose-water.

A modern Jew has made an objection to the history of the New Testament, that the quantity of spices used by Joseph and Nicodemus on the body of Christ, was enough for two hundred dead bodies.

Diodorus Siculus is very minute on this subject: after describing the expence and ceremony of embalming, he adds, that the relations of the deceased, till the body was buried, used neither the baths, wine, delicate food, nor fine cloaths.

In the Philosophical Transactions for 1764, a particular account is given of the examination of a mummy.

Diodorus Siculus describes three methods of embalming, with the first of which our author does not appear to have been acquainted.

LXXXVI. There are certain persons legally appointed to the exercise of this profession. When a dead body is brought them, they exhibit to the friends of the deceased different models highly finished in wood. The most perfect of these they say resembles one whom I do not think it religious to name in such a matter; the second is of less price, and inferior in point of execution; another is still more mean; they then enquire after which model the deceased shall be represented: when the price is determined, the relations retire, and the embalmers thus proceed:—In the most perfect specimens of their art, they draw the brain through the nostrils, partly with a piece of crooked iron, and partly by the infusion of drugs; they then with an Ethiopian stone make an incision in the side, through which they extract the intestines¹⁵⁸; these they

acquainted. The form and appearance of the whole body was so well preserved, that the deceased might be known by their features.

The Romans had the art of embalming as well as the Ægyptians; and if what is related of them be true, this art had arrived to greater perfection in Rome than in Ægypt.—*See Montfaucon.* A modern author remarks, that the numberless mummies which still endure, after so long a course of ages, ought to ascertain to the Ægyptians the glory of having carried chymistry to a degree of perfection attained but by few. Some moderns have attempted by certain preparations to preserve dead bodies entire, but to no purpose.—7.

¹⁵⁸ *Intestines.*]—Porphyry informs us what afterwards becomes of these: they are put into a chest, and one of the embalmers makes a prayer for the deceased, addressed to the sun, the purport of which is to signify that if the conduct of the deceased

they cleanse thoroughly, washing them with palm-wine, and afterwards covering them with pounded aromatics: they then fill the body with powder of pure myrrh¹⁵⁹, casia, and other perfumes, except frankincense. Having sown up the body, it is covered with nitre¹⁶⁰ for the space of seventy days¹⁶¹, which time they may not exceed; at the end of this period it is washed, closely wrapped in bandages of cotton¹⁶², dipped in a gum¹⁶³ which the Ægyptians use as glue: it is then returned to the relations, who enclose the body in a case of wood, made to resemble an human figure, and place it

ceased has during his life been at all criminal, it must have been on account of these; the embalmer then points to the chest, which is afterwards thrown into the river.—*T.*

¹⁵⁹ *Myrrh, &c.*]—Instead of myrrh and casia, the Jews in embalming used myrrh and aloes.—*T.*

¹⁶⁰ *Nitre.*]—Larcher says, this was not of the nature of our nitre, but a fixed alkaline salt.

¹⁶¹ *Seventy days.*]—“If the nitre or natrum had been suffered,” says Larcher, “to remain for a longer period, it would have attacked the solid or fibrous parts, and dissolved them; if it had been a neutral salt, like our nitre, this precaution would not have been necessary.”

¹⁶² *Cotton.*]—By the byssus cotton seems clearly to be meant, “which,” says Larcher, “was probably consecrated by their religion to the purpose of embalming.” Mr. Greaves asserts, that these bandages in which the mummies were involved were of linen; but he appears to be mistaken. There are two species of this plant, annual and perennial, it was the latter which was cultivated in Ægypt.

¹⁶³ *Gum.*]—This was gum arabic. Pococke says it is produced from the acacia, which is very common in Ægypt, the same as the acacia, called *gale* in Arabia Petræa: in Ægypt it is called *font*.

against the wall in the repository of their dead. The above is the most costly mode of embalming.

LXXXVII. They who wish to be less expensive, adopt the following method: they neither draw out the intestines, nor make any incision in the dead body, but inject an unguent made from the cedar; after taking proper means to secure the injected oil within the body, it is covered with nitre for the time above specified ¹⁶⁴: on the last day they withdraw the liquor before introduced, which brings with it all the bowels and intestines; the nitre eats away the flesh, and the skin and bones only remain: the body is returned in this state, and no further care taken concerning it.

LXXXVIII. There is a third mode of embalming appropriated to the poor. A particular kind of ablution ¹⁶⁵ is made to pass through the body, which

¹⁶⁴ *Time above specified.*]—According to Irwin, the time of mourning of the modern Egyptians is only seven days: the Jews in the time of Moses mourned thirty days. The mourning for Jacob, we find from Genesis, chap. l. 3. was the time here prescribed for the process of embalming; but how are we to explain the preceding verses?

“And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians, to embalm his father, and the physicians embalmed Israel.

“And forty days were fulfilled for him; (for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed) and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days.”—*T.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ablution.*]—The particular name of this ablution is in the original *furmaia*, some believe it a composition of salt and water; the word occurs again in chap. cxxv. where it signifies a radish.—*T.*

is afterwards left in nitre for the above seventy days, and then returned.

LXXXIX. The wives of men of rank, and such females as have been distinguished by their beauty or importance, are not immediately on their decease delivered to the embalmers: they are usually kept for three or four days, which is done to prevent any indecency being offered to their persons. An instance once occurred of an embalmer's gratifying his lust on the body of a female lately dead: the crime was divulged by a fellow artist.

XC. If an Ægyptian or a foreigner be found, either destroyed by a crocodile or drowned in the water, the city nearest which the body is discovered, is obliged to embalm and pay it every respectful attention, and afterwards deposit it in some consecrated place: no friend or relation is suffered to interfere, the whole process is conducted by the priests of the Nile¹⁶⁶, who bury it themselves with a respect
to

¹⁶⁶ *Priests of the Nile.*]—That the Nile was esteemed and worshipped as a god, having cities, priests, festivals, and sacrifices consecrated to it, is sufficiently evident.—“No god,” says Plutarch, “is more solemnly worshipped than the Nile.”—“The grand festival of the Nile,” says Heliodorus, “was the most solemn festival of the Ægyptians: they regard him as the rival of heaven, since without clouds or rain he waters the lands.”

The memory of these ancient superstitions is still preserved, and is seen in the great pomp with which the canal of Grand Cairo is opened every year. It appears also from the representations of modern travellers, that the Ægyptian women bathe

to which a lifeless corpse would hardly seem entitled.

XCI. To the customs of Greece they express aversion, and to say the truth to those of all other nations. This remark applies, with only one exception, to every part of Ægypt. Chemmis¹⁶⁷ is a place of considerable note in the Thebaid, it is near Neapolis, and remarkable for a temple of Perseus¹⁶⁸ the son of Danae. This temple is of a square

in the Nile at the time of its beginning to rise, to express their veneration for the benefits it confers on their country. Irwin tells us, that a sacred procession along the banks of the Nile is annually made by women on the first visible rise of the river. —7.

¹⁶⁷ *Chemmis.*]—The Ægyptians called this place Chemmo. Chemmis seems to be a Greek termination; it is the same place with Panopolis. Plutarch informs us, that Pans and Satyrs once dwelt near Chemmis, which tradition probably arose from the circumstance of the worship of Pan commencing first in this place.—*Larcher.*

I suppose Akmim to have been Panopolis, famous of old for workers in stone, and for the linen manufactures; at present they make coarse cotton here. It appears plainly from Diodorus, that this place is what was called Chemmis by Herodotus. It is now the place of residence of the prince of Akmim, who has the title of emir or prince, and is as a sheik of the country.—*Pococke.*

¹⁶⁸ *Perseus*]—was one of the most ancient heroes in the mythology of Greece. The history of Perseus came apparently from Ægypt. Herodotus more truly represents him as an Assyrian, by which is meant a Babylonian (book vi. 54.) He resided in Ægypt, and is said to have reigned at Memphis. To say the truth, he was worshipped there, for Perseus was a title of

square figure, and surrounded with palm-trees. The vestibule, which is very spacious, is constructed of stone, and on the summit are placed two large marble statues. Within the consecrated inclosure stand the shrine and statue of Perseus, who, as the inhabitants affirm, often appears in the country and the temple. They sometimes find one of his sandals, which are of the length of two cubits, and whenever this happens, fertility reigns throughout Ægypt. Public games, after the manner of the Greeks, are celebrated in his honour. Upon this occasion they have every variety of gymnastic exercise. The rewards of the conquerors are cattle, vests, and skins¹⁶⁹. I was once induced to enquire why

of the deity. Perseus was no other than the sun, the chief god of the Gentile world. On this account he had a temple at Chemmis, Memphis, and in other parts of Ægypt. His true name was Perez or Parez, rendered Perefis, Perfes, and Perseus; and in the account given of this personage we have the history of the Perefians, Parrhasians, and Perezites, in their several peregrinations.—*Bryant*.

¹⁶⁹ *Skins*.]—To prove that skins were in ancient times distributed as prizes at games, Wesseling quotes the following lines from Homer :

— οὐχ ἱερήιον, οὐδὲ BOEIHN
 Ἀ' εἰς ὄσθην ἅτε ποσσὶν αἰθλία γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν,

which literally means, "They did not attempt to gain a victim or the *skin of an ox*, the prize of the racers."

Which Pope, entirely omitting the more material circumstance of the sentence, very erroneously renders thus :

why Perseus made his appearance to them alone, and why they were distinguished from the rest of Ægypt by the celebration of gymnastic exercises ¹⁷⁰? They informed me in return, that Perseus was a native of their country, as were also Danaus and Lynceus, who made a voyage into Greece, and from whom, in regular succession, they related how Perseus was descended. This hero visited Ægypt for the purpose, as the Greeks also affirm, of carrying from Africa the Gorgon's head ¹⁷¹. Happening to come among them, he saw and was known to his

No vulgar prize they play,
No vulgar victim must reward the day,
(Such as in races crown the speedy strife.)—T.

¹⁷⁰ *Gymnastic exercises.*]—These were five in number. They began with the foot-race, which was the most ancient. The second was leaping with weights in the hand; and mention is made in Pausanias, of a man who leaped fifty-two feet. The third was wrestling: the victor was required to throw his adversary three times. The fourth was the disk; and the fifth boxing. This last was sometimes with the naked fist, and sometimes with the cestus.—T.

¹⁷¹ *Gorgon's head.*]—The Gorgons were three in number, sisters, the daughters of Phorcys, a sea-god, and Ceto, of whom Medusa was the chief, or according to some authors the only one who was mortal. Her story is this: Independent of her other accomplishments, her golden hair was so very beautiful, that it captivated the god Neptune, who enjoyed her person in the temple of Minerva. The goddess in anger changed her hair into snakes, the sight of which transformed the spectators into stones. From the union of Medusa with Neptune Pegasus was born; but after that, no one with impunity could look at Medusa. Perseus, borrowing the wings of Mercury, and the shield

of

his relations. The name of Chemmis he had previously known from his mother, and himself instituted the games which they continued to celebrate.

XCII. These which I have described, are the manners of those Ægyptians who live in the higher parts of the country. They who inhabit the marshy grounds differ in no material instance. Like the Greeks, they confine themselves to one wife ¹⁷². To procure themselves

of Minerva, came suddenly upon her when she and her snakes were asleep; and cut off her head.

But in every circumstance of the mythology of the Gorgons, there is great disagreement in different ancient authors: according to some the blood of Medusa alone produced Pegasus.

The head of Medusa frequently exercised the skill of the more ancient artists, who, notwithstanding what is mentioned above, sometimes represented it as exceedingly beautiful.

The following description of the daughters of Phorcys, and of the Gorgons, I give from the *Prometheus Vincsus* of Æschylus, in the animated version of Potter :

Thou shalt come to the Gorgonian plains
Of Cithine, where dwell the swan-like forms
Of Phorcys' daughters, bent and white with age;
One common eye have these, one common tooth,
And never does the sun with cheerful ray
Visit them darkling, nor the moon's pale orb
That silvers o'er the night. The Gorgons nigh,
Their sisters, these spread their broad wings, and wreath
Their horrid hair with serpents, fiends abhorr'd,
Whom never mortal could behold and live. T.

¹⁷² *To one wife.*]—Modern travellers inform us, that although the Mahometan law allows every man to have four wives, many are satisfied with one.

themselves more easily the means of sustenance, they make use of the following expedient: when the waters have risen to their extremest height, and all their fields are overflowed, there appears above the surface an immense quantity of plants of the lily species, which the Ægyptians call the *lotos*¹⁷³: these

“The equality in the number of males and females born into the world intimates,” says Mr. Paley, “the intention of God, that one woman should be assigned to one man.”

“From the practice of polygamy permitted amongst the Turks,” says Volney, “the men are enervated very early; and nothing is more common than to hear men of thirty complaining of impotence. But still it is no new remark, that the conversion of infidels is retarded by the prohibition of more wives than one.”

That the Greeks did not always confine themselves to one wife we learn from certain authority. Euripides was known to be a woman-hater, “but,” says Hume, “it was because he was coupled to two noisy vixens.” The reader will find many ingenious remarks and acute reasonings in Hume’s 19th Essay on polygamy and divorces.—7.

¹⁷³ *Lotos.*]—The lotus is an aquatic plant peculiar to Ægypt, which grows in rivulets, and by the side of lakes. There are two species, the one bearing a white, the other a blueish flower. The root of the first species is round, resembling a potatoe, and is eaten by the inhabitants who live near the lake Menzala.—*Savary.*

The lotus is of the lily species. We find this singular remark in the *Mémoire sur Venus*:—“Le lys étoit odieux à Venus parce qu’il lui disputoit la beauté. Aussi pour s’en venger fit-elle croître au milieu de ses pétales le membre de l’âne.” The above is translated from the *Alexipharmaca* of Nicander.—7.

The byblus or papyrus the ancients converted to a great variety of uses, for particulars of which consult Pliny and Strabo.

these having cut down, they dry in the sun. The seed of the flower, which resembles that of the poppy, they bake, and make into a kind of bread; they also eat the root of this plant, which is round, of an agreeable flavour, and about the size of an apple. There is a second species of the lotos, which grows in the Nile, and which is not unlike a rose. The fruit, which grows from the bottom of the root, resembles a wasp's nest: it is found to contain a number of kernels of the size of an olive-stone, which are very grateful, either fresh or dried. Of the byblus, which is an annual plant, after taking it from a marshy place, where it grows, they cut off the tops, and apply them to various uses. They eat or sell what remains, which is nearly a cubit in length. To make this a still greater delicacy, there are many who previously roast it. With a considerable part of this people fish constitutes the principal article of food; they dry it in the sun, and eat it without other preparation.

XCIH. Those fishes which are gregarious seldom multiply in the Nile, they usually propagate

It is a rush, and grows to the height of eight or nine feet; it is now very scarce in Egypt, for Hasselquist makes no mention of it. The use of the papyrus for books was not found out till after the building of Alexandria. As anciently books were rolled up, the nature of the papyrus made it very convenient for this purpose. They wrote upon the inner skins of the stalk. From papyrus comes our English word paper.—T.

in the lakes. At the season of spawning they move in vast multitudes towards the sea; the males lead the way, and emit the ingendering principle in their passage; this the females absorb as they follow, and in consequence conceive. As soon as the seminal matter has had its proper operation, they leave the sea, return up the river, and endeavour to regain their accustomed haunts. The mode, however, of their passage is reversed, the females lead the way, whilst the males follow. The females do now what the males did before, they drop their spawn, resembling small grains of millet, which the males eagerly devour. Every particle of this contains a small fish, and each which escapes the males regularly encreases till it becomes a fish. Of these fish, such as are taken in their passage towards the sea are observed to have the left part of their heads depressed, which on their return is observed of their right. The cause of this is obvious: as they pass to the sea they rub themselves against the banks on the left side; as they return they keep closely to the same bank, and in both instances press against it, that they may not be obliged to deviate from their course by the current of the stream. As the Nile gradually rises, the water first fills those cavities of the land which are nearest the river. As soon as ever these are saturated, an abundance of small fry may be discovered. The cause of their increase may perhaps be thus explained: when the Nile ebbs, the fish, who in the preceding season had deposited their spawn in the mud, retreat reluctantly with the stream; but at the proper

I season,

season, when the river flows, this spawn is matured into fish.

XCIV. The inhabitants of the marshy grounds make use of an oil, which they term the kiki, expressed from the Sillicyprian plant. In Greece this plant springs spontaneously without any cultivation, but the Ægyptians sow it on the banks of the river, and of the canals; it there produces fruit in great abundance, but of a very strong odour: when gathered they obtain from it, either by friction or pressure, an unctuous liquid, which diffuses an offensive smell, but for burning is equal in quality to the oil of olives.

XCV. The Ægyptians are provided with a remedy against gnats, of which there are a surprizing number. As the wind will not suffer these insects to rise far from the ground, the inhabitants of the higher part of the country usually sleep in turrets. They who live in the marshy grounds use this substitute: each person has a net, with which they fish by day, and which they render useful by night. They cover their beds with their nets, and sleep securely beneath them. If they slept in their common habits, or under linen, the gnats would not fail to torment them, which they do not even attempt through a net.

XCVI. Their vessels of burden are constructed of a species of thorn, which resembles the lotos of Cyrene, and which distils a gum. From this thorn

they cut planks about two cubits square: after disposing these in the form of bricks, and securing them strongly together, they place from side to side benches for the rowers. They do not use timber artificially carved, but force the planks together with the bark of the byblus made into ropes. They have one rudder, which goes through the keel of the vessel; their mast is made of the same thorn, and the sails are formed from the byblus. These vessels are haled along by land, for unless the wind be very favourable they can make no way against the stream. When they go with the current, they throw from the head of the vessel a hurdle made of tamarisk, fastened together with reeds; they have also a perforated stone of the weight of two talents, this is let fall at the stern, secured by a rope. The name of this kind of bark is *baris*¹⁷⁴, which the above hurdle, impelled by the tide, draws swiftly along. The stone at the stern regulates its motion. They have immense numbers of these vessels, and some of them of the burden of many thousand talents.

XCVII. During the inundation of the Nile, the

¹⁷⁴ *Baris*.]—Part of the ceremony in most of the ancient mysteries consisted in carrying about a kind of ship or boat; which custom, upon due examination, will be found to relate to nothing else but Noah and the deluge. The ship of Isis is well known. The name of this, and of all the navicular shrines, was *Baris*; which is very remarkable, for it was the very name of the mountain, according to Nicolas Damascenus, on which the ark of Noah rested.—*Bryant*.

cities only are left conspicuous, appearing above the waters like the islands of the Ægean sea. As long as the flood continues, vessels do not confine themselves to the channel of the river, but traverse the fields and the plains. They who then go from Naucratis to Memphis, pass by the pyramids; this, however, is not the usual course, which lies through the point of the Delta, and the city of Cercaforus. If from the sea and the town of Canopus, the traveller desires to go by the plains to Naucratis, he must pass by Anthilla¹⁷³ and Archandros.

XCVIII. Of these places Anthilla is the most considerable: whoever may be sovereign of Ægypt, it is assigned perpetually as part of the revenues of the queens, and appropriated to the particular purpose of providing them with sandals; this has been observed ever since Ægypt was tributary to Persia. I should suppose that the other city derives its name from Archander, the son of Pthius, son-in-law of Danaus, and grandson of Achæus. There may probably have been some other Archander, for the name is certainly not Ægyptian.

XCIX. All that I have hitherto asserted has been the result of my own personal remarks and diligent enquiry. I shall now proceed to relate what I learned

¹⁷³ *Anthilla*—was probably the same place with Gynacopolis; the superior excellence of its wine made it in after-times celebrated.—*Larcher*.

from conversing with Ægyptians, to which I shall occasionally add what I myself have witnessed.—Menes, the first sovereign of Ægypt, as I was informed by the priests, effectually detached the ground on which Memphis ¹⁷⁶ stands from the water. Before his

¹⁷⁶ *Memphis.*]—Authors are exceedingly divided about the site of ancient Memphis. The opinions of a few of the more eminent are subjoined.

Diodorus Siculus differs from Herodotus with regard to the founder. “Uchoreus,” says he, “built the city Memphis, which is the most illustrious of all the cities of Ægypt.”

“It is very extraordinary,” observes Pococke, “that the situation of Memphis should not be well known, which was so great and famous a city, and for so long a time the capital of Ægypt.” See what this writer says farther on the subject, vol. i. 39.

Besides the temple of Vulcan, here mentioned, Memphis was famous for a temple of Venus.

“Is it not astonishing,” remarks Savary, “that the site of the ancient metropolis of Ægypt, a city near seven leagues in circumference, containing magnificent temples and palaces, which art laboured to render eternal, should at present be a subject of dispute amongst the learned. Pliny,” continues Savary, “removes the difficulty past doubt. The three grand pyramids seen by the watermen from all parts stand on a barren and rocky hill, between Memphis and the Delta, one league from the Nile, two from Memphis, and near the village of Busris.”

Mr. Gibbon does not speak of the situation of ancient Memphis with his usual accuracy and decision.

“On the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to the east of the pyramids, at a small distance to the south of the Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumference, displayed the magnificence of ancient kings.”

D’Anville, the most accurate of all geographers, places it fifteen miles above the point of the Delta, which he says corresponds exactly with the measurement of three schæni.—T.

time the river flowed entirely along the sandy mountain on the side of Africa. But this prince, by constructing a bank at the distance of a hundred stadia from Memphis, towards the south, diverted the course of the Nile¹⁷⁷, and led it, by means of a new canal, through the centre of the mountains. And even at the present period, under the dominion of the Persians, this artificial channel is annually repaired, and regularly defended. If the river were here once to break its banks, the town of Memphis would be inevitably ruined. It was the same Menes who, upon the solid ground thus rescued from the water, first built the town now known by the name of Memphis, which is situate in the narrowest part of Ægypt. To the north and the west of Memphis he also sunk a lake, communicating with the river, which, from the situation of the Nile, it was not possible to effect towards the east. He moreover erected on the same spot a magnificent temple in honour of Vulcan.

C. The priests afterwards recited to me from a book the names of three hundred and thirty sovereigns (successors of Menes); in this continued series

¹⁷⁷ *Diverted the course of the Nile.*]—The course of this ancient bed is not unknown at present: it may be traced across the desert, passing west of the lakes of Natroun, by petrified wood, mats, and lateen yards, the wrecks of vessels by which it was anciently navigated.—*Savary.*

eighteen were Æthiopians¹⁷⁸, and one a female native of the country, all the rest were men and Ægyptians. The female was called Nitocris, which was also the name of the Babylonian princess. They affirm that the Ægyptians having slain her brother, who was their sovereign, she was appointed his successor; and that afterwards, to avenge his death, she destroyed by artifice a great number of Ægyptians. By her orders a large subterraneous apartment was constructed, professedly for festivals, but in reality for a different purpose. She invited to this place a great number of those Ægyptians whom she knew to be the principal instruments of her brother's death, and then by a private canal introduced the river amongst them. They added, that to avoid the indignation of the people, she suffocated herself in an apartment filled with ashes.

CI. None of these monarchs, as my informers related, were distinguished by any acts of magnificence or renown, except Meeris, who was the last of them. Of this prince various monuments remain. He built the north entrance of the temple of Vulcan, and sunk a lake, the dimensions of which I shall hereafter describe. Near this he also erected pyramids, whose magnitude, when I speak of the lake, I shall particularize. These are lasting monuments of his fame; but as none of the preceding

¹⁷⁸ *Eighteen score Æthiopians.*]—These eighteen Æthiopian princes prove that the throne was not always hereditary in Ægypt.—*Larcher.*

princes performed any thing memorable, I shall pass them by in silence.

CII. The name of Sesostris ¹⁷⁹, who lived after them, claims our attention. According to the priests, he was the first who, passing the Arabian gulph in a fleet of long vessels, reduced under his authority the inhabitants bordering on the Red Sea. He proceeded yet farther, till he came to a sea, which on account of the number of shoals was not navigable. On his return to Ægypt, as I learned from the same authority, he levied a mighty army, and made a martial progress by land, subduing all the nations whom he met with on his march. Whenever he was opposed by a people who proved themselves brave, and who discovered an ardour for liberty, he erected columns in their country, upon which he inscribed his name, and that of his nation, and how he had here conquered by the force of his arms; but where he met with little or no opposition, upon similar columns ¹⁸⁰ which he erected,

¹⁷⁹ *Sesostris.*]—See Bouhier's Chronological Account of the Kings of Ægypt from Mæris to Cambyfes, according to which Mæris died in the year of the world 3360, and was succeeded by Sesostris in 3361.

Diodorus Siculus makes this prince posterior to Mæris by seven generations; but, as Larcher justly observes, this writer cannot be entitled to an equal degree of credit with Herodotus. Sesostris has been differently named: Tacitus calls him Rhampses; Scaliger, both Rhameffes and Ægyptus. He is named Sesostris in Diodorus Siculus; Sefosis in Pliny, &c.—T.

¹⁸⁰ *Upon similar columns, &c.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the same facts, with this addition, that upon the columns intended

ed, he added the private parts of a woman, expressive of the pusillanimity of the people.

CIII. Continuing his progress, he passed over from Asia to Europe, and subdued the countries of Scythia and Thrace¹⁸¹. Here I believe he stopped, for monuments of his victory are discovered thus far, but no farther. On his return he came to the river Phasis; but I am by no means certain whether he left¹⁸² a detachment of his forces as a colony in this district, or whether some of his men, fatigued with their laborious service, remained here of their own accord.

tended to commemorate the bravery of the vanquished, Sesostris added the private parts of a man.—*T.*

Nous ignorons si les Hermès caractérisés par la nature féminine, et élevés par Sesostris dans les pays qu'il avoit conquis sans résistance, avoient été figurés de la même manière; ou si, pour indiquer le sexe, ils avoient un triangle, par lequel les Égyptiens avoient coutume de le désigner.—*Winkelmann.*

¹⁸¹ *Thrace.*]—According to another tradition preserved in Valerius Flaccus, the Getæ, the bravest and most upright of the Thracians, vanquished Sesostris; and it was doubtless to secure his retreat, that he left a detachment of his troops in Colchis.

Cunabula gentis

Colchidos hic ortusque tuens: ut prima Sesostris

Intulerit rex bella Getis: ut clade suorum

Territus hos Thebas, patriumque reducat ad amnem

Phasilos hos imperat agnis, Colchosque vocari

Imperet.—

Larcher.

¹⁸² *Whether he left, &c.*]—Pliny assures us, though I know not on what authority, that Sesostris was defeated by the Colchians.—*Larcher.*

CIV. The Colchians certainly appear to be of Ægyptian origin ; which indeed, before I had conversed with any one on the subject, I had always believed. But as I was desirous of being satisfied, I interrogated the people of both countries : the result was, that the Colchians seemed to have better remembrance of the Ægyptians, than the Ægyptians of the Colchians. The Ægyptians were of opinion that the Colchians were descended of part of the troops of Sesostris. To this I myself was also inclined, because they are black, and have hair short and curling¹⁸³, which latter circumstance may not, however, be insisted upon as evidence, because it is common to many other nations. But a second and better argument is, that the inhabitants of Colchos, Ægypt, and Æthiopia, are the only people who from time immemorial have used circumcision. The Phœnicians and the Syrians of Palestine¹⁸⁴ acknowledge that they borrowed this custom

¹⁸³ *Hair short and curling.*]—"That is," says Volney, in his remark on this passage, "that the ancient Ægyptians were real negroes, of the same species with all the natives of Africa ; and though, as might be expected, after mixing for so many ages with the Greeks and Romans, they have lost the intensity of their first colour, yet they still retain strong marks of their original conformation."

¹⁸⁴ *Syrians of Palestine.*]—Mr. Gibbon takes the opportunity of this passage to make it appear, that under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, the Jews languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves. "Herodotus," says the English historian, "who visited Asia whilst it obeyed the Persian empire, slightly mentions the Jews of Palestine." But this seems to be a partial quotation ; for taking into consideration the whole of the context,

custom from Ægypt. Those Syrians who live near the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macrones, confess that they learned it, and that too recently, from the Colchians. These are the only people who use circumcision, and who use it precisely like the Ægyptians. As this practice can be traced both in Ægypt and Æthiopia to the remotest antiquity, it is not possible to say which first introduced it. The Ægyptians certainly communicated it to the other nations by means of their commercial intercourse. The Phœnicians, who are connected with Greece, do not any longer imitate the Ægyptians in this particular, their male children not being circumcised.

CV. But the Colchians have another mark of resemblance to the Ægyptians. Their manufacture of linen¹³⁵ is alike, and peculiar to those two nations; they have similar manners, and the same language. The linen which comes from Colchis the Greeks call Sardonian¹³⁶; the linen of Ægypt, Ægyptian.

CVI,

context, Herodotus seems precluded from mentioning the Syrians of Palestine in this place otherwise than slightly.—*T.*

¹³⁵ *Manufacture of linen.*]—See chapter xxxii. of this book.—*T.*

¹³⁶ *Sardonian.*]—In the original, for Σαρδονικον, Larcher recommends the reading of Σαρδιανικον, which he justifies by saying that Sardis was a far more proper and convenient market for this kind of linen than Sardinia.

This latter country in ancient times had the character of being remarkably unhealthy. “Remember,” says Cicero, writing to his

CVI. The greater part of the pillars which Sesostris erected in the places which he conquered are no longer to be found. Some of them I myself have seen in Palestine of Syria, with the private members of a woman, and the inscriptions which I have before mentioned. In Ionia there are two figures of this king formed out of a rock; one is in the way from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other betwixt Sardis and Smyrna. Both of them represent a man, five palms in height; the right hand holds a javelin, the left a bow; the rest of his armour is partly Ægyptian and partly Æthiopian. Across his breast, from shoulder to shoulder, there is this inscription in the sacred characters of Ægypt, "I

his brother, "though in perfect health, you are in Sardinia." Martial also

Nullo fata loco possis excludere, cum mors
Venerit, in medio Tibure, Sardinia est.

This country also gave rise to many peculiar phrases: *Sardi venales*, *Rifus Sardonicus*, *Sardonias tinctura*, &c. The first is differently explained; Cicero, applying it to Gracchus, who after the capture of Sardinia waited much time in selling his prisoners, makes it to signify any matter tediously protracted. Others, applying it to the Asiatic Sardis, make it signify persons who are venal. The Sardonic laugh is that beneath which the severest uneasiness is concealed. "*Sardinia*," says Solinus, "produces a herb which has this singular property, that whilst it destroys whoever eats it, it so contracts the features, and in particular of the mouth, into a grin, as to make the sufferer appear to die laughing." Of this herb Solinus relates other strange properties. Sardinia was also famous for a very beautiful colour, whence *Sardonias tinctura* was made to signify a modest blush. See Pliny, Solinus, Hoffman, &c.—T.

conquered this country by the force of my arms." Who the person is, here represented, or of what country, are not specified, both are told elsewhere. Some have been induced, on examination, to pronounce this the figure of Memnon, but they must certainly be mistaken.

CVII. The same priests informed me that Sesostris returned to Ægypt with an immense number of captives of the different nations which he had conquered. On his arrival at the Pelusian Daphne, his brother, to whom he had confided the government in his absence, invited him and his family to take up their abode with him; which, when they had done, he surrounded their apartments with combustibles, and set fire to the building¹³⁷. As soon as Sesostris discovered the villainy, he deliberated with his wife, who happened to be with him, what measures to pursue; she advised him to place two of their six children across the parts which were burning, that they might serve as a bridge for the preservation of themselves and of the rest. This Sesostris executed: two of the children consequently perished, the remainder were saved with their father.

¹³⁷ *Set fire to the building.*—Diodorus Siculus relates the matter differently. The brother of Sesostris made him and his attendants drunk, and in the night set fire to his apartment. The guards being intoxicated, were unable to assist their masters; but Sesostris, imploring the interposition of the gods, fortunately escaped. He expressed his gratitude to the deities in general, and to Vulcan in particular, to whose kindness principally he thought himself indebted.—7.

CVIII. Sesostris did not omit to avenge himself on his brother : on his return to Ægypt, he employed the captives of the different nations he had vanquished to collect those immense stones which were employed in the temple of Vulcan. They were also compelled to make those vast and numerous canals¹⁸³ by which Ægypt is intersected. In consequence of their involuntary labours, Ægypt, which was before conveniently adapted to those who travelled on horseback or in carriages, became unfit for both. The canals occur so often, and in so many winding directions, that to journey on horseback is disagreeable, in carriages impossible. The prince however was influenced by a patriotic motive : before his time those who

¹⁸³ *Numerous canals.*]—Probably one reason why Sesostris opened canals, was to prevent these hurtful inundations, as well as to convey water to those places where they might think proper to have villages built, and to water the lands more conveniently, at such times as the waters might retire early; for they might find by experience, after the canals were opened, that instead of apprehending inundations, they had greater reason, as at present, to fear a want of water.—*Parocke*.

There are still eighty canals in Ægypt like rivers, several of which are twenty, thirty, and forty leagues in length.—*Savary*.

The same author adds, that the chain-buckets used in Ægypt to disperse the water over the high lands gave to Archimedes, during his voyage in Ægypt, the idea of his ingenious screw, which is still in use.

A country where nothing is so seldom met with as a spring, and where rain is an extraordinary phenomenon, could only have been fertilized by the Nile. Accordingly from times of the most remote antiquity, fourscore considerable canals were dugged at the entrance of the kingdom, beside a great number of small ones, which distributed these waters all over Ægypt.—*Raynal*.

inhabited the inland parts of the country, at a distance from the river, on the ebbing of the Nile suffered great distress from the want of water, of which they had none but from muddy wells.

CIX. The same authority informed me, that Sesostris made a regular distribution of the lands of Ægypt. He assigned to each Ægyptian a square piece of ground; and his revenues were drawn from the rent which every individual annually paid him. Whoever was a sufferer by the inundation of the Nile, was permitted to make the king acquainted with his loss. Certain officers were appointed to enquire into the particulars of the injury, that no man might be taxed beyond his ability. It may not be improbable to suppose that this was the origin of geometry ¹⁸⁹, and that the Greeks learned it from hence. As to the pole, the gnomon ¹⁹⁰, and the division

¹⁸⁹ *Origin of geometry.*]—The natives of Thebes, above all others, were renowned for their great wisdom. Their improvements in geometry are thought to have been owing to the nature of their country; for the land of Ægypt being annually overflowed, and all property confounded, they were obliged upon the retreat of the waters to have recourse to geometrical decision, in order to determine the limits of their possessions.—*Bryant.*

¹⁹⁰ *The pole, the gnomon.*]—The text is a literal translation of the original, to which as it stands it will not be very easy to annex any meaning. My own opinion, from reflecting on the context is, that it signifies a dial with its index. Wesseling, in his note on this passage, informs us from Pollux, that many considered *πολον* and *ωρολογιον* as synonymous expressions. Scaliger is of the same opinion, to which Wesseling himself accedes. Salmassius thinks differently, and says of this particular passage, *ne hoc quidem*

division of the day ¹⁹¹ into twelve parts, the Greeks received them from the Babylonians.

CX.

quidem quidquam ad horologiorum usum facit. Larcher's interpretation seems far-fetched. "He," says the learned Frenchman, "who wishes to form a solar quadrant must necessarily know the altitude of the pole."—When it is considered that the more ancient dials were divided by the first *twelve* letters of the alphabet, I cannot help adhering to the interpretation I have given of it.—T.

¹⁹¹ *Division of the day.*]—From this passage it appears, that in the time of Herodotus the day was divided into twelve parts: at the same time we may not conclude, with Leon, Aitadius, and Wesseling, that to these twelve parts the name of *hours* was given. It is by no means certain when the twenty-four parts of the day were first distinguished by the name of hours, but it was doubtless very late; and the passages cited from Anacreon and Xenophon to prove the contrary ought not to be interpreted by what we call hours.

The passage in Anacreon, *μεσονυκτιος ποδ' ὥραις*, means nothing more than the middle of the night. *Νυκτος ἀμολγῆ*, in Homer, which signifies an advanced time of the night, is explained by the Scholiast *ἡ τε μεσονυκτιος ὥρα*, the very expression of Anacreon. The passage from Xenophon is not more decisive.—*Larcher.*

Upon this subject we have the following curious note in the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*:—Of the dials of the ancients we may form some idea from the following example: Palladius Rutilius, who lived about the fifth century, and who has left us a treatise on agriculture, has put at the end of every month a table, in which one sees the correspondence of the divisions of the day to the different lengths of the shadow of the gnomon. It must be observed in the first place, that this correspondence is the same in the months equally distant from the solstice, January and December, February and November, &c. Secondly, that the length of the shadow is the same for the hours equally distant from the mid-day point. The following is the table for January:

CX. Except Sesostris, no monarch of Ægypt was ever master of Æthiopia. This prince placed as a monument ¹⁹² some marble statues before the temple of Vulcan: two of these were thirty cubits in height, and represented him and his queen; four others, of twenty cubits each, represented his four children. A long time afterwards Darius king of Persia, was desirous of placing before these a statue of himself ¹⁹³, but the high priest of Vulcan violently opposed it, urging that the actions of Darius were far less splendid than those of the Ægyptian Sesostris,

Hours.				Feet.
I. and XI.	-	-	-	29
II. and X.	-	-	-	19
III. and IX.	-	-	-	15
IV. and VIII.	-	-	-	12
V. and VII.	-	-	-	10
VI.	-	-	-	9

This dial seems to have been adapted for the climate of Rome. Similar to this were constructed for the climate of Athens.

¹⁹² *Placed as a monument.*]—Larcher, in his version, adds in this place, “to commemorate the danger he had escaped.” The text will not justify this version, though the learned Frenchman’s opinion, that this is the implied meaning, rests on the positive assertion of Diodorus Siculus, who, relating the fact of the statues circumstantially, adds that they were erected by Sesostris in gratitude to Vulcan, by whose interposition he escaped the treachery of his brother.—*T.*

¹⁹³ *A statue of himself.*]—After a series of ages, when Ægypt was reduced under the power of Persia, Darius, the father of Xerxes, was desirous of placing an image of himself at Memphis, before the statue of Sesostris. This was strenuously opposed by the chief priest, in an assembly of his order, who asserted that the acts of Darius had not yet surpassed those of Sesostris. The king did not take this freedom amiss, but was rather pleased

Sesostris. This latter prince had vanquished as many nations as Darius, and had also subdued the Scythians, who had never yielded to the arms of Darius. Therefore, says he, it can never be just to place before the statues of Sesostris the figure of a prince, whose exploits have not been equally illustrious. They told me that Darius forgave this remonstrance ¹⁹⁴.

CXI. On the death of Sesostris, his son Pheron ¹⁹⁵, as the priests informed me, succeeded to his throne. This prince undertook no military expedition; but by the action I am going to relate he lost the use of his eyes:—When the Nile was at its extreme height of eighteen cubits, and had overflowed the fields, a sudden wind arose which made the waters impetuously swell; at this juncture the prince hurled a javelin into the vortex of the stream: he was in a moment deprived of sight, and continued blind for the space of ten years; in the eleventh an oracle was communicated to him

pleased with it; saying, that if he lived as long as Sesostris, he would endeavour to equal him.—*Diadema Scindus*.

¹⁹⁴ *Forgave this remonstrance.*]—It does not however appear from hence that Darius was ever in Egypt. The resistance of the chief priest might probably be told him, and he might forgive it. It appears by a passage in Aristotle, that Darius attacked and conquered this country; if so, the priest of Vulcan might personally oppose Darius. The authority of Aristotle is of no weight compared with that of our historian; and probably, in that writer, instead of Darius we should read Xerxes.—*Larcher*.

¹⁹⁵ *Pheron.*]—This prince is supposed to be the first Egyptian Pharaoh.—*T*.

from Butos, intimating that the period of his punishment was expired, and that he should recover his sight by washing his eyes with the urine of a woman who had never known any man but her husband. Pheron first made the experiment with the urine of his own wife, and when this did not succeed he applied that of other women indiscriminately. Having at length recovered his sight, he assembled all the women, except her whose urine had removed his calamity, in a city which is to this day called Erythrebolos ¹⁹⁶; all these, with the town itself, he destroyed by fire, but he married the female who had deserved his gratitude. On his recovery he sent magnificent presents to all the more celebrated temples; to that of the sun he sent two obelisks too remarkable to be unnoticed: each was formed of one solid stone, one hundred cubits high, and eighty broad.

CXII. The successor of Pheron, as the same priests informed me, was a citizen of Memphis, whose name in the Greek tongue was Proteus ¹⁹⁷. His
 shrine

¹⁹⁶ *Erythrebolos*.]—Diodorus Siculus calls this place Helio-
 polis; and says that the woman, through whose means Pheron
 was cured of his blindness, was the wife of a gardener.—*T*.

¹⁹⁷ *Proteus*.]—Proteus was an Ægyptian title of the deity,
 under which he was worshipped, both in the Pharos and at
 Memphis. He was the same as Osiris and Canobus, and par-
 ticularly the god of mariners, who confined his department to
 the sea. From hence I think we may unravel the mystery about
 the pilot of Menelaus, who is said to have been named Canobus,
 and

shrine is still to be seen at Memphis, it is situated to the south of the temple of Vulcan, and is very magnificently decorated. The Phœnicians of Tyre dwell in its vicinity, and indeed the whole of the place is denominated the Tyrian camp. In this spot, consecrated to Proteus, there is also a small temple, dedicated to Venus the stranger¹⁹⁸: this Venus I conjecture is no other than Helen, the daughter of Tyndaris, because she, I was told, resided for some time at the court of Proteus, and

and to have given name to the principal sea-port in Ægypt.—*Bryant.*

No antique figure has yet been met with of Proteus: upon this circumstance Mr. Spence remarks, that his character was far more manageable for poets, than for sculptors or painters. The former might very well describe all the variety of shapes that he could put on, and point out the transition from one to the other, but the artists must have been content to shew him either in his own natural shape, or in some one alone of all his various forms. Of this deity the best description is given in the *Georgics* of Virgil.—*T.*

It is remarkable, that if we were to write the Ægyptian name of Proteus, as given by the Greeks, in Phœnician characters, we should make use of the same letters we pronounce Pharaoh; the final *o* in the Hebrew is an *b*, which at the end of words frequently becomes *t*.—*Volney.*

¹⁹⁸ *Venus the stranger.*]—It is doubtless this Venus to whom Horace alludes in the following verses:

Oh quæ beatam diva tenes Cyprum, et
Memphim carentem Sithonia nive
Regina.

Strabo also speaks of this temple, and tells us that some believed it dedicated to the moon.—*T.*

because

because this building is dedicated to Venus the stranger; no other temple of Venus is distinguished by this appellation.

CXIII. To my enquiries on the subject¹⁹⁹ of Helen, these priests answered as follows: Paris having carried off Helen from Sparta, was returning home, but meeting with contrary winds in the *Ægean*, he was driven into the *Ægyptian* sea. As the winds continued unfavourable, he proceeded to *Ægypt*, and was driven to the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and to Tarichea: in that situation was a temple of Hercules, which still remains; to this if any slave fled for refuge, and in testimony of his consecrating himself to the service of the god, submitted to be marked with certain sacred characters, no one was suffered to molest him. This custom has been strictly observed, from its first institution to the present period. The servants of Paris, aware of the privileges of this temple, fled thither from their master, and with the view of injuring Paris, became the suppliants of the divinity. They published many accusations against their master, disclosing the whole affair of Helen, and the wrong done to Menelaus: this they did, not only in the

¹⁹⁹ *Enquiries on the subject.*]—Upon no subject, ancient or modern, have writers been more divided, than about the precise period of the Trojan war. Larcher, after discussing this matter very fully, in his *Essay on Chronology*, is of opinion, and his arguments appear to me at least, satisfactory, that it took place 1263 years before the vulgar æra.—*T.*

presence of the priests, but also before Thonis²⁰⁰, the governor of the district.

CXIV. Thonis instantly dispatched a messenger to Memphis, with orders to say thus to Proteus: "There is arrived here a Trojan, who has perpetrated an atrocious crime in Greece; he has seduced the wife of his host, and has carried her away, with a great quantity of treasure; adverse winds have forced him hither: shall I suffer him to depart without molestation, or shall I seize his person and property?" The answer which Proteus sent was thus conceived: "Whoever that man is who has violated the rights of hospitality, seize and bring him before me, that I may examine him."

CXV. Thonis upon this seized Paris, and detaining his vessels, instantly sent him to Proteus, with Helen²⁰¹ and all his wealth: on their arrival,
Proteus

²⁰⁰ *Thonis.*]—Some writers pretend that Thonis was prince of the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and that he was the inventor of medicine in Ægypt. Before he saw Helen he treated Menelaus with great respect; when he had seen her he made his court to her, and even endeavoured to violate her person: Menelaus on hearing this put him to death. The city of Thonis, and Thoth, the first Ægyptian month, take their names from him.

This narrative seems less probable than that of Herodotus: Theth, or the Mercury of the Ægyptians, was much more ancient.—*Larcher.*

²⁰¹ This incident of the detention of Helen by Proteus, is the argument of one of the tragedies of Euripides.

Proteus enquired of Paris who he was, and whence he came : Paris faithfully related the name of his family and country, and from whence he last set sail. But when Proteus proceeded to make enquiries concerning Helen, and how he obtained possession of her person, Paris hesitated in his answers ; his slaves who had deserted him explained and proved the particulars of his guilt ; in consequence of which Proteus made this determination : “ If I did not esteem it a very heinous crime to put any stranger to death, whom unfavourable winds have driven to my coast, I would assuredly, thou most abandoned man, avenge that Greek whose hospitality thou hast treacherously violated. Thou hast not only seduced his wife, but, having violently taken her away, still criminally detainest her ; and, as if this were not enough, thou hast robbed and plundered him ! But as I can by no means prevail upon myself to put a stranger to death, you I shall suffer to depart ; the woman and your wealth I shall detain, till the Greek himself thinks proper to demand her.—Do you and your companions depart within three days from my coasts, or expect to be treated as enemies.”

CXVI. Thus, according to the narrative of the

The poet supposes that Helen never was at Troy, but that Paris carried thither a cloud in her form :—On the death of Proteus, his son Theaclymenus prepared to make Helen his wife ; at this juncture Menelaus was driven on the coast, saw Helen again, and with her concerted and accomplished their return to Greece.—T.

priests,

priests, did Helen come to the court of Proteus. I conceive that this circumstance could not be unknown to Homer; but as he thought it less ornamental to his poem, he forbore to use it. That he actually did know it, is evident from that part of the *Iliad* where he describes the voyage of Paris; this evidence he has no where retracted. He informs us, that Paris, after various wanderings, at length arrived at Sidon, in Phœnicia; it is in the *Bravery of Diomed*¹⁰², the passage is this :

There lay the vestures of no vulgar art,
Sidonian maids embroider'd every part;
When from soft Sidon youthful Paris bore,
With Helen touching on the Tyrian shore.

Il. vi. 390.

¹⁰² *Bravery of Diomed.*]—The different parts of Homer's poems were known anciently by names taken from the subjects treated in them:—Thus the fifth book of the *Iliad* was called the *Bravery of Diomed*; and in like manner the eleventh the *Bravery of Agamemnon*; the tenth the *Night-watch*, or the *Death of Dolon*, &c.; all of which titles are prefixed to the respective books in Clarke's and other editions from Eustathius:—See also *Ælian*, Var. Hist. Book xiii. c. 14. This division was more ancient than that into books, and therefore does not always coincide with it: thus the second *Iliad* has two names, the *Dream* or the *Trial*, and the *Catalogue*; whereas four or five books of the *Odyssey* are supposed to be comprized under the name of the *Story of Alcinoüs*. Valœnaer erroneously supposed this to be a later division of the grammarians, and therefore endeavoured to explain away the expression of Herodotus, which evidently refers to it.—*L*.

He again introduces this subject in the *Odyssey* :

These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,
Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial
wife ;

Who sway'd the sceptre where prolific Nile
With various simples clothes the fatten'd soil,
With wholesome herbage mix'd, the direful
bane

Of vegetable venom taints the plain.

Od. iv. 315.

Menelaus also says thus to Telemachus :

Long on the Ægyptian coast by calms confin'd,
Heaven to my fleet refus'd a prosperous wind :
No vows had we prefer'd, no victim slain,
For this the gods each favouring gale restrain.

Od. iv. 473.

In these passages Homer confesses himself acquainted with the voyage of Paris to Ægypt; for Syria borders upon Ægypt, and the Phœnicians, to whom Sidon belongs, inhabit part of Syria.

CXVII. Of these the last passage confirms sufficiently the argument, which may be deduced from the former, that the Cyprian verses²⁰³ were never written

²⁰³ *Cyprian verses.*]—On the subject of these verses the following sentence occurs in Athenæus.

“The person who composed the Cyprian verses, whether he was some Cyprian or Stasinus, or by whatever name he chooses to be distinguished,” &c. From which it appears, that Athe-

written by Homer. These relate that Paris, in company with Helen, assisted by a favourable wind and sea, passed in three days from Sparta to Troy; on the contrary, it is asserted in the *Iliad*, that Paris, after carrying away Helen, wandered about to various places.

CXVIII. I was desirous of knowing whether all that the Greeks relate concerning Troy had any foundation in truth; and the same priests instructed me in the following particulars, which they learned from Menelaus himself. After the loss of Helen, the Greeks assembled in great numbers at Teucris, to assist Menelaus; they disembarked and encamped: they then dispatched ambassadors to Troy, whom Menelaus himself accompanied. On their arrival they made a formal demand of Helen, of the wealth which Paris had at the same time clandestinely taken, as well as general satisfaction for

neaus had no idea of their being written by Homer. But we are told by *Ælian*, in his *Various History*, that Homer certainly did compose these verses, and gave them as a marriage portion with his daughter.—See *Ælian*, Book ix. chap. 15, in the note to which, this subject is amply discussed.—7.

The subject of this poem was the Trojan war, after the birth of Helen. Venus caused this princess to be born, that she might be able to promise Paris an accomplished beauty; to this Jupiter, by the advice of *Momus*, had consented, in order to destroy the human race again by the war of Troy, which was to take place on her account. As the author of this poem refers all the events of this war to Venus, goddess of Cyprus, the work was called by her name. “It is evident,” says *M. Larcher* in continuation, “that *Herodotus* would have told the name of the author, had he known it.”

the injury. The Trojans then and afterwards uniformly persisted in declaring that they had among them neither the person nor the wealth of Helen, but that both were in Ægypt; and they thought it hard that they should be made responsible for what Proteus king of Ægypt certainly possessed. The Greeks, believing themselves deluded, laid siege to Troy, and persevered till they took it. But when Helen was not to be found in the captured town, and the same assertions concerning her were continued, they at length obtained credit, and Menelaus himself was dispatched to Proteus.

CXIX. As soon as he arrived in Ægypt he proceeded up the Nile to Memphis. On his relating the object of his journey, he was honourably entertained; Helen, who had been treated with respect, was restored to him, and with her, all his treasures. Inattentive to these acts of kindness, Menelaus perpetrated a great enormity against the Ægyptians: the winds preventing his departure, he took two children²⁰⁴ of the people of the country, and with
great

²⁰⁴ *Two children.*—This was doubtless to appease the winds. This kind of sacrifice was frequent in Greece, but detestable in Ægypt.

Sanguine placatis ventos et virgine cæsà.—Virgil.

See Book vii. chap. 191.—*Larcher.*

In the early times of all religions, when nations were yet barbarous and savage, there was ever an aptness or tendency towards the dark part of superstition, which among many other horrors produced that of *human sacrifice*.—*Lord Shaftesbury.*

That

great barbarity offered them in sacrifice. As soon as the circumstance was known, universal indignation was excited against him, and he was pursued; but he fled by sea into Africa, and the Ægyptians could trace him no further. Of the above facts, some they knew, as having happened among themselves, and others were the result of much diligent enquiry.

CXX. This intelligence concerning Helen I received from the Ægyptian priests, to which I am inclined to add, as my opinion, that if Helen had been actually in Troy, they would certainly have restored her to the Greeks, with or without the consent of Paris. Priam and his connections could never have been so infatuated, as to endanger the preservation of themselves and their children, merely that Paris might enjoy Helen; but even if such had been their determination at first, still after having lost, in their different contests with the Greeks, many of their countrymen, and among these, if the poets may be believed, several of their king's own sons, I cannot imagine but that Priam, even if he had married her himself, would have restored Helen, if no other means had existed of averting these calamities. We may add to this, that Paris was

That the custom of human sacrifice, alike cruel and absurd, gives way but very slowly to the voice of nature and of reason, is evident from its having been practised at so late a period by the enlightened people of Greece. Porphyry also informs us, that even in his time, who lived 233 years after the Christian era, human sacrifices were common in Arcadia and at Carthage.—*T.*

not the immediate heir to the crown, for Hector was his superior both in age and virtue: Paris, therefore, could not have possessed any remarkable influence in the state, neither would Hector have countenanced the misconduct of his brother, from which he himself, and the rest of his countrymen, had experienced so many and such great calamities. But the restoration of Helen was not in their power, and the Greeks placed no dependance on their assertions, which were indisputably true; but all this, with the subsequent destruction of Troy, might be ordained by Providence, to instruct mankind that the gods proportioned punishments to crimes.

CXXI. The same instructors farther told me, that Proteus was succeeded by Rhampsinitus²⁰⁵: he built the west entrance of the temple of Vulcan; in the same situation he also erected two statues, twenty-five cubits in height. That which faces the north the Ægyptians call summer, the one to the south winter: this latter is treated with no manner of respect, but they worship the former, and make offerings before it. This prince possessed such abundance of wealth, that so far from surpassing, none of his successors ever equalled him in affluence. For the security of his riches, he constructed a stone edifice, connected with his palace by a wall. The

²⁰⁵ *Rhampsinitus.*]—Diodorus Siculus calls him Rhemphis.

He greatly oppressed his subjects by his avarice and extortions: he amassed in gold and silver four hundred thousand talents; a most incredible sum.—*Lovell.*

man whom he employed²⁰⁶, with a dishonest view to artfully disposed one of the stones, that two or even one person might remove it from its place. In this building, when completed, the king deposited his treasures. Some time afterwards the artist found his end approaching; and having two sons, he called them both before him, and informed them in what manner, with a view to their future emolument and prosperity, he had built the king's treasury. He then explained the particular circumstance and situation of the stone, gave them minutely its dimensions, by observance of which they might become the managers of the king's riches. On the death of the father, the sons were not long before they availed themselves of their secret. Under the advantage of the night, they visited the building, discovered and removed the stone, and carried away with them a large sum of money. As soon as the king entered the apartment, he saw the vessels which contained his money materially diminished: he was astonished beyond measure, for as the seals were unbroken, and every entrance properly secured, he could not possibly direct his suspicion against any one. This was several times repeated; the thieves continued their visits, and the king as regularly saw his money decrease. To effect a discovery, he ordered some traps to be placed round the vessels which contained his riches.

²⁰⁶ *The man whom he employed.*]—Pausanias relates a similar fable of Trophonius, whose cave became so famous.—*Lar-cher.*

The robbers came as before; one of them proceeding as usual directly to the vessels, was caught in the snare: as soon as he was sensible of his situation, he called his brother, and acquainted him with it; he withal intreated him to cut off his head without a moment's delay, as the only means of preventing his own detection and consequent loss of life; he approved and obeyed his advice, and replacing properly the stone, he returned home with the head of his brother. As soon as it was light the king entered the apartment, and seeing the body secured in the snare without a head, the building in no part disturbed, nor the smallest appearance of any one having been there, he was more astonished than ever. In this perplexity he commanded the body to be hanged from the wall, and having stationed guards on the spot, he directed them to seize and bring before him whoever should discover any symptoms of compassion or sorrow at sight of the deceased. The mother being much exasperated at this exposure of her son, threatened the surviving brother, that if he did not contrive and execute some means of removing the body, she would immediately go to the king, and disclose all the circumstances of the robbery. The young man in vain endeavoured to alter the woman's determination; he therefore put in practice the following expedient:—He got together some asses, which he loaded with flasks of wine; he then drove them near the place where the guards were stationed to watch the body of his brother; as soon as he approached, he secretly removed the pegs from

from the mouths of two or three of the skins, and when he saw the wine running about, he began to beat his head, and to cry out vehemently, with much pretended confusion and distress. The soldiers, perceiving the accident, instantly ran with vessels, and such wine as they were able to catch they considered as so much gain to themselves. At first, with great apparent anger, he reproached and abused them, but he gradually listened to their endeavours to console and pacify him: he then proceeded at leisure to turn his asses out of the road, and to secure his flasks. He soon entered into conversation with the guards, and affecting to be pleased with the drollery of one of them, he gave them a flask of wine; they accordingly sat down to drink, and insisted upon his bearing them company: he complied with their solicitations, and a second flask was presently the effect of their civility to him. The wine had soon its effect, the guards became exceedingly drunk, and fell fast asleep; under the advantage of the night, the young man took down the body of his brother, and in derision shaved the right cheeks of the guards; he placed the body on one of the asses, and returned home, having thus satisfied his mother. When the king heard of what had happened, he was enraged beyond measure; but still determined on the detection of the criminal, he contrived this, which to me seems a most improbable²⁹⁷ part of the story:—He commanded his

²⁹⁷ *Most improbable.*]—Herodotus, we may perceive from this passage,

his daughter to prostitute her person indiscriminately to every comer, upon condition that, before enjoyment, each should tell her the most artful as well as the most wicked thing he had ever done; if any one should disclose the circumstance of which he wished to be informed, she was to seize him, and prevent his escape. The daughter obeyed the injunction of her father; the thief, knowing what was intended, prepared still farther to disappoint and deceive the king. He cut off the arm near the shoulder from a body recently dead, and concealing it under his cloak, he visited the king's daughter: when he was asked the same question as the rest, he replied, "That the most wicked thing he had ever done was the cutting off the head of his brother, who was caught in a snare in the king's treasury; the most artful thing, was his making the guards drunk, and by that means effecting the removal of his brother's body." On hearing this she endeavoured to apprehend him, but he, favoured by the night, put out to her the dead arm, which she seizing, was thus deluded, whilst he made his escape. On hearing this also, the king was equally astonished at the art and audacity of the man; he was afterwards induced to make a proclamation through the different parts of his dominions, that if the offender would appear before him, he would not only pardon but reward him.

passage, did not implicitly credit all the priests told him. Many other passages occur in the process of the work, to prove that our historian was by no means so credulous as has been generally imagined.—*Lutcher.*

liberally. The thief, trusting to his word, appeared; Rhampsinitus was delighted with the man, and thinking his ingenuity beyond all parallel, gave him his daughter. The king conceived the Egyptians superior in subtlety to all the world, but he thought this man superior even to Egyptians.

CXXII. After this event, they told me that the same king ²⁰⁸ descended alive beneath the earth, to what the Greeks call the infernal regions, where he played at dice with the goddess Ceres ²⁰⁹, and alternately won and lost ²¹⁰. On his return she presented him

²⁰⁸ *The same king.*]—The kings of Egypt had many names and titles, these names and titles have been branched out into persons, and inserted in the lists of the real monarchs. I have mentioned of Osiris, that he was exposed in an ark, and for a long time in a state of death; the like is said of Orus, Adonis, Thamus, and Talus, Tulus, or Thoulon. Lastly, it is said of Rhameses, whom Herodotus calls Rhampsinitus, that he descended to the mansions of death, and after some stay returned to light. I mention these things to shew that the whole is one and the same history, and that all these names are titles of the same person. They have however been otherwise esteemed, and we find them accordingly inserted in the lists of kings, by which means the chronology of Egypt has been greatly embarrassed.
—Bryant.

²⁰⁹ *Ceres*]—In the Greek Demeter. “The Egyptians,” says Diodorus Siculus, “rated the earth as the common womb of all things, Meter, which the Greeks, by an easy addition, afterwards altered to Demeter.”—*T.*

²¹⁰ *Alternately won and lost.*]—Valenaer informs us in a note, that this circumstance of playing at dice with Ceres, and alternately conquering and being conquered, has been ingeniously explained to mean no more, quam Cererem aliam et faultricem

him with a napkin embroidered with gold. This period of his return was observed by the Ægyptians as a solemn festival, and has continued to the time of my remembrance; whether the above, or some other incident, was the occasion of this feast, I will not take upon me to determine. The ministers of this solemnity have a vest woven within the space of the day, this is worn by a priest whose eyes are covered with a bandage. They conduct him to the path which leads to the temple of Ceres, and there leave him. They assert, that two wolves meet the priest thus blinded, and lead him to the temple, though at the distance of twenty stadia from the city, and afterwards conduct him back again to the place where they found him,

CXXIII. Every reader must determine for himself with respect to the credibility of what I have related; for my own part I heard these things from the Ægyptians, and think it necessary to transcribe the result of my enquiries. The Ægyptians esteem Ceres and Bacchus as the great deities of the realms below; they are also the first of mankind who have defended the immortality of the soul²¹¹. They believe,

vel vicissim inimicam experiri, to find agricultural experiments sometimes successful and sometimes otherwise. I think there was probably something also allegorical and mysterious in the story—possibly there might be in this feast something similar to the Eleusinian mysteries, the particular mention of Ceres suggests that opinion.—T.

²¹¹ *Immortality of the soul.*]—The doctrine of the resurrection was first entertained by the Ægyptians, and their mummies

believe, that on the dissolution of the body the soul immediately enters some other animal, and that, after

were embalmed, their pyramids were constructed to preserve the ancient mansion of the soul during a period of three thousand years. But the attempt is partial and unavailing; and it is with a more philosophic spirit that Mahomet relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whose word can reanimate the breathless clay, and collect the innumerable atoms that no longer retain their form or substance. The intermediate state of the soul it is hard to decide; and those who most firmly believe her immaterial nature are at a loss to understand how she can think or act without the agency of the organs of sense.—*Gibbon*.

The Platonic doctrine esteemed the body a kind of prison with respect to the soul. Somewhat similar to this was the opinion of the Marcionites, who called the death of the body the resurrection of the soul.—*T*.

The soul, by reason of its anxiety and impotence, being unable to stand by itself, wanders up and down to seek out consolations, hopes, and foundations, to which she adheres and fixes. But 'tis wonderful to observe how short the most constant and obstinate maintainers of this just and clear persuasion of the immortality of the soul do fall, and how weak their arguments are when they go about to prove it by human reason.—*Montaigne*.

To enumerate the various opinions which have prevailed concerning the soul of man, would be an undertaking alike arduous and unprofitable. Some of the ancients considered it as part of the substance of God; the doctrine of the propagation of souls prevailed, according to Bayle, or rather subsisted, to a very late period of the Christian æra: Averhocs affirmed its mortality, and most of the pagan philosophers believed it to be material; but the arguments for its immortality which are afforded us in the word of God at the same time animate our piety, and satisfy our reason.—*T*.

I have observed so many marks of resemblance betwixt the Egyptians and the Indians, that I can by no means persuade myself that they are the effect of chance. I love better to be-

after using as vehicles every species of terrestrial, aquatic, and winged creatures, it finally enters a second time into a human body. They affirm that it undergoes all these changes in the space of three thousand years. This opinion some amongst the Greeks²¹² have at different periods of time adopted as their own; but I shall not, though I am able, specify their names.

CXXIV. I was also informed by the same priests,

lieve that India was civilized by those Egyptians who accompanied Bacchus or Sesostris in their expeditions. I am, therefore, not at all surprized at finding amongst the Indians Egyptian architecture, the division of the people into tribes, which never intermingle; respect for animals, and for the cow in particular; the metempsychosis, &c. With regard to this last dogma, I am tempted to believe, that it did not originate in Egypt, that it indeed is not of very great antiquity, and that the soldiers of Sesostris brought it with them on their return from their expedition. "I know," remarks Pausanias, "that the Chaldean and Indian magi have been the first who asserted the immortality of the soul." Besides Moses, who was anterior to that prince, had heard no mention of it; if he did know it, how could he persuade himself that he was chosen to keep under the laws of God, and their own, a people always ready to rebel? It is indeed known, that the immortality of the soul was not known to the Jews, but by the commerce which they had with the Assyrians, during the time of their captivity.—*Larcher*.

²¹² *Some amongst the Greeks.*]—He doubtless means to speak of Pherecydes of Syros, and Pythagoras.—*Larcher*.

Pherecydes was the disciple of Pittacus, and the master of Pythagoras, and also of Thales the Milesian. He lived in the time of Servius Tullus, and, as Cicero tells us, *primum dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos*, first taught that the souls of men were immortal. His life is given at some length by Diogenes Laertius.—*T*.

that

that till the reign of Rhampsinicus, Ægypt was not only remarkable for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. Cheops, who succeeded this prince, degenerated into the extremest profligacy of conduct²¹³. He barred the avenues to every temple, and forbade the Ægyptians to offer sacrifices; he proceeded next to make them labour servilely for

²¹³ *Profligacy of conduct.*—It is not easy to see what could induce M. de Paw to attempt the vindication of this prince, and to reject as fabulous what Herodotus relates of his despotism, as if this were not the infirmity of such princes, and as if they did not all endeavour to establish it within their dominions. Ægypt enjoyed good laws at the first, they were observed during some ages, and the people were consequently happy; but their princes endeavoured to free themselves from the restraints imposed upon them, and by degrees they succeeded. M. de Voltaire was justified in considering the construction of the pyramids as a proof of the slavery of the Ægyptians; and it is with much justice he remarks, that it would not be possible to compel the English to erect similar masses, who are far more powerful than the Ægyptians at that time were. This is perfectly true, and M. de Paw, in attacking Voltaire, has wandered from the question. He ought to have proved, that the kings of England were really able to compel their subjects to raise similar monuments, as Herodotus positively asserts of the princes of Ægypt. He ought, I say, to have proved this, and not to have advanced that the cultivation of their lands cost the English nine times more labour than it does in Ægypt; and that their marine in one year occasions the destruction of more people *than the construction of all the pyramids would have done in a long series of ages*. M. de Paw would not see that a spirit of ambition, a desire of wealth, &c. induce the English eagerly to undertake the most laborious enterprises; that they are not obliged to do this; and in one word that it is optional with them; on the contrary, the Ægyptians were compelled by their sovereigns to labours the most painful, humiliating, and servile.—*Larcher*.

himself.

himself. Some he compelled to hew stones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains, and drag them to the banks of the Nile; others were appointed to receive them in vessels, and transport them to a mountain of Libya. For this service an hundred thousand men were employed, who were relieved every three months. Ten years were consumed in the hard labour of forming the road through which these stones were to be drawn; a work, in my estimation, of no less fatigue and difficulty than the pyramid itself²¹⁴. This cause-
way

²¹⁴ *The pyramid itself.*]—For the satisfaction of the English reader, I shall in few words enumerate the different uses for which the learned have supposed the pyramids to have been erected. Some have imagined that, by hieroglyphics inscribed on their external surface, the Egyptians wished to convey to the remotest posterity their national history, as well as their improvements in science and the arts. This, however ingenious, seems but little probable; for the ingenuity which was equal to contrive, and the industry which persevered to execute structures like the pyramids, could not but foresee, that however the buildings themselves might from their solidity and form defy the effects of time, the outward surface, in such a situation and climate, could not be proportionably permanent; add to this, that the hieroglyphics were a sacred language, and, obscure in themselves, and revealed but to a select number, might to posterity afford opportunity of ingenious conjecture, but were a very inadequate vehicle of historical facts.

Others have believed them intended merely as observatories to extend philosophic and astronomical knowledge; but in defence of this opinion little can be said: the adjacent country is a flat and even surface, buildings, therefore, of such a height, were both absurd and unnecessary; besides that, for such a purpose, it would have been very preposterous to have constructed such a number of costly and massy piles, differing so little in altitude.

To

way²¹⁵ is five stadia in length, forty cubits wide, and its extreme height thirty-two cubits, the whole
is

To this may be added, that it does not appear, from an examination of the pyramids, that access to the summit was ever practicable, during their perfect state.

By some they have been considered as repositories for corn, erected by Joseph, and called the granaries of Pharaoh. The argument against this is very convincing, and is afforded us by Herodotus. "In the building the largest of the pyramids 366,000 men," says he, "were employed twenty years together." This, therefore, will be found but ill to correspond with the scriptural history of Joseph. The years of plenty which he foretold were only seven, which fact is of itself a sufficient answer to the above.

It remains, therefore, to mention the more popular and the more probable opinion, which is, that they were intended for the sepulchres of the Ægyptian monarchs.

Instead of useful works, like nature, great
Enormous cruel wonders crush'd the land,
And round a tyrant's tomb, who none deserv'd,
For one vile carcase perish'd countless lives.—*Thompson*.

When we consider the religious prejudices of the Ægyptians, their opinion concerning the soul, the pride, the despotism, and the magnificence of their ancient princes, together with the modern discoveries with respect to the interior of these enormous piles, there seems to remain but little occasion for argument, or reason for doubt.—*T*.

²¹⁵ *Causeway*.]—The stones might be conveyed by the canal that runs about two miles north of the pyramids, and from thence part of the way by this extraordinary causeway. For at this time there is a causeway from that part, extending about a thousand yards in length, and twenty feet wide, built of hewn stone. The length of it agreeing so well with the account of Herodotus, is a strong confirmation that this causeway has been kept up ever since, though some of the materials of it may have been changed, all being now built with free-stone. It is strengthened on each
side

is of polished marble, adorned with the figures of animals. Ten years, as I remarked, were exhausted in forming this causeway, not to mention the time employed in the vaults²¹⁶ of the hill²¹⁷ upon which the pyramids are erected. These he intended as a place of burial for himself, and were in an island which he formed by introducing the waters of the Nile. The pyramid

side with semicircular buttresses, about fourteen feet diameter, and thirty feet apart; there are sixty-one of these buttresses, beginning from the north. Sixty feet further it turns to the west for a little way, then there is a bridge of about twelve arches, twenty feet wide, built on piers that are ten feet wide. Above one hundred yards further there is such another bridge, beyond which the causeway continues about one hundred yards to the south, ending about a mile from the pyramids, where the ground is higher. The country over which the causeway is built, being low, and the water lying on it a great while, seems to be the reason for building this causeway at first, and continuing to keep it in repair.—*Pococke*.

The two bridges described by Pococke are also mentioned particularly by Norden. The two travellers differ essentially in the dimensions which they give of the bridges they severally measured; which induces M. Larcher reasonably to suppose that Pococke described one bridge, and Norden the other.—7.

²¹⁶ *Vaults*.]—The second pyramid has a fosse cut in the rock to the north and west of it, which is about ninety feet wide, and thirty feet deep. There are small apartments cut from it into the rock, &c.

²¹⁷ *The hill*.]—The pyramids are not situated in plains, but upon the rock that is at the foot of the high mountains which accompany the Nile in its course, and which make the separation betwixt Ægypt and Libya. It may have fourscore feet of perpendicular elevation above the horizon of the ground, that is always overflowed by the Nile. It is a Danish league in circumference.—*Norden*.

itself

itself was a work of twenty years: it is of a square form; every front is eighty plethra ²¹⁸ long, and as many

²¹⁸ *Eighty plethra.*]—To this day the dimensions of the great pyramid are problematical. Since the time of Herodotus, many travellers and men of learning have measured it; and the difference of their calculations, far from removing, have but augmented doubt. I will give you a table of their admeasurements, which at least will serve to prove how difficult it is to come at truth.

		Height of the great pyramid.	Width of one side.
Ancients.		Fect.	Fect.
Herodotus	- - -	800	800
Strabo	- - -	625	600
Diodorus	- - -	600	some inches 700
Pliny	- - -	- - -	708
Moderns.			
Le Brun	- - -	616	704
Prosp. Alpinus	- - -	625	750
Thevenot	- - -	520	612
Niebuhr	- - -	440	710
Greaves	- - -	444	648

Number of the layers or steps.

Greaves	- - -	207
Maillet	- - -	208
Albert Lewenstein	- - -	260
Pococke	- - -	212
Belon	- - -	250
Thevenot	- - -	208

To me it seems evident that Greaves and Niebuhr are prodigiously deceived in the perpendicular height of the great pyramid. All travellers agree it contains at least two hundred and seven layers, which layers are from four to two feet high. The highest are at the base, and they decrease insensibly to the top. I measured several, which were more than three feet high, and I found

many in height; the stones are very skilfully cemented, and none of them of less dimensions than thirty feet.

CXXV. The ascent of the pyramid was regularly graduated by what some call steps, and others altars. Having finished the first flight, they elevated the stones to the second by the aid of machines ²¹⁹ constructed of short pieces of wood; from the second, by a similar engine, they were raised to the third, and so on to the summit. Thus there were as many machines as there were regular divi-

found none that were less than two, therefore the least mean height that can be allowed them is two feet and a half, which, according to the calculation of Greaves himself, who counted two hundred and seven, will give five hundred and seventeen feet six inches in perpendicular height.—*Savary.*

²¹⁹ *Aid of machines.*]—Mr. Greaves thinks that this account of Herodotus is full of difficulty. “How, in erecting and placing so many machines, charged with such massy stones, and those continually passing over the lower degrees, could it be avoided, but that they must either unsettle them, or endanger the breaking of some portions of them? Which mutilations would have been like scars in the face of so magnificent a building.”

I own that I am of a different opinion from Mr. Greaves; for such massy stones as Herodotus has described would not be discomposed by an engine resting upon them, and which, by the account of Herodotus, I take to be only the pulley. The account that Diodorus gives of raising the stones by imaginary *χωματα* (heaps of earth) engines not being then, as he supposes, invented, is too absurd to take notice of. And the description that Herodotus has given, notwithstanding all the objections that have been raised to it, and which have arisen principally from misrepresenting him, appears to me very clear and sensible.—*Dr. Templeman's Notes to Norden.*

sions in the ascent of the pyramid, though in fact there might only be one, which being easily manageable, might be removed from one range of the building to another, as often as occasion made it necessary: both modes have been told me, and I know not which best deserves credit. The summit of the pyramid was first of all finished²²⁰, descending thence, they regularly completed the whole. Upon the outside were inscribed, in Ægyptian characters²²¹, the various sums of money expended in the progress of the work, for the radishes, onions, and garlic consumed by the artificers. This, as I well remember, my interpreter informed me, amounted to no less a sum than one thousand six hundred talents. If this be true, how much more must it have necessarily cost for iron tools, food, and

²²⁰ *First of all finished.*]—The word in the text is ἐξῆρονθη, which Larcher has rendered “On commença revêtir et perfectionner.”

Great doubts have arisen amongst travellers and the learned, whether the pyramid was coated or not. Pliny tells us, that at Busiris lived people who had the agility to mount to the top of the pyramid. If it was graduated by steps, little agility would be requisite to do this; if regularly coated, it is hard to conceive how any agility could accomplish it.

Norden says, that there is not the least mark to be perceived to prove that the pyramid has been coated by marble.

Savary is of a contrary opinion: “That it was coated,” says he, “is an incontestible fact, proved by the remains of mortar, still found in several parts of the steps, mixed with fragments of white marble.” Upon the whole, it seems more reasonable to conclude that it was coated.—7.

²²¹ *Ægyptian characters.*]—Probably in common characters, and not in hieroglyphics.—Larcher.

clothes for the workmen, particularly when we consider the length of time they were employed in the building itself, adding what was spent in the hewing and conveyance of the stones, and the construction of the subterraneous apartments?

CXXXVI. Cheops having exhausted his wealth, was so flagitious, that he prostituted his daughter²², commanding her to make the most of her person. She complied with her father's injunctions, but I was not told what sum she thus procured, at the same time she took care to perpetuate the memory of herself; with which view she solicited every one of her lovers to present her with a stone. With these it is reported the middle of the three pyramids²³, fronting the larger one, was constructed, the elevation of which on each side is one hundred and fifty feet.

CXXXVII. According to the Ægyptians this

²² *Prostituted his daughter.*]—This account of the king's prostituting his daughter has been thought so full of horror, that many have doubted the truth of it; but we have had in our own country an instance of as horrid a crime in a husband's prostituting his wife merely for his diversion.—See *State Trials, the Case of Merwin Lord Audley*.

²³ *The middle of the three pyramids.*]—The acts of magnificence which the courtesans of antiquity were enabled to accomplish from the produce of their charms, almost exceed belief. It is told of Lamia, the charming mistress of Demetrius Poliorcetes, that she erected at Sicyon a portico, so beautiful and superb, that an author named Posemo wrote a book to describe it.—See *Athenæus, and the Letters of Aleiphron*.—T.

Cheops

Cheops reigned fifty years. His brother Chephren²²⁴ succeeded to his throne, and adopted a similar conduct. He also built a pyramid, but this was less than his brother's, for I measured them both; it has no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the Nile, which in the other surrounds an island where the body of Cheops is said to be deposited²²⁵. Of this latter pyramid, the first ascent is entirely of Æthiopian marble of divers colours, but it is not so high as the larger pyramid, near which it stands, by forty feet. This Chephren reigned fifty-six years; the pyramid he built stands on the same hill with that erected by his brother: the hill itself is near one hundred feet high.

CXXVIII. Thus for the space of one hundred and six years were the Egyptians exposed to every species of oppression and calamity, not having in all this period permission to worship in their temples. For the memory of these two monarchs they

²²⁴ *His brother Chephren.*]—Diodorus Siculus remarks, that some authors are of opinion, that it was not his brother who succeeded him, but his son Chabryis, or Chabryen. Probably, says M. Larcher, the same word differently written.

²²⁵ *Is it to be deposited.*]—The kings designed these pyramids for their sepulchres, yet it happened that their remains were not here deposited. The people were so exasperated against them, by the severe labours they had been compelled to endure, and were so enraged at the oppressive cruelty of their princes, that they threatened to take their bodies from their tombs, and cast them to the dogs. Both of them, therefore, when dying, ordered their attendants to bury them in some secret place.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

have so extreme an aversion, that they are not very willing to mention their names ²²⁶. They call their pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis ²²⁷, who at that time fed his cattle in those places.

CXXIX. Mycerinus, the son of Cheops, succeeded Chephren: as he evidently disapproved of his father's conduct, he commanded the temples to be opened, and the people, who had been reduced to the extremest affliction, were again permitted to offer sacrifice at the shrines of their gods. He excelled all that went before him in his administration of justice. The Ægyptians revere his memory beyond that of all his predecessors, not only for the equity of his decisions ²²⁸, but because, if complaint was

²²⁶ *Mention their names.*]—Part of the punishment annexed in France to high-treason, and other enormous offences, is the irrevocable extinction of the family name of the convicted persons.

This is probably the reason, observes M. Larcher, why historians are so much divided in opinion concerning the names of the princes who erected the pyramids.—*T.*

²²⁷ *Philitis.*]—Some of the pyramids in Ægypt were styled the pyramids of the shepherd Philitis, and were said to have been built by people whom the Ægyptians held in abomination; from whence we may form a judgment of the persons by whom these edifices were erected. Many hills and places of reputed sanctity were denominated from shepherds. Caucasus, in the vicinity of Colchis, had its name conferred by Jupiter, in memory of Caucasus, a shepherd. Mount Cithæron, in Bœotia, was called Asterius, but received the former name from one Cithæron, a shepherd, supposed to have been there slain.—*Bryant.*

²²⁸ *Equity of his decisions.*]—It appears, as well from this paragraph

was ever made of his conduct as a judge, he condescended to remove and redress the injury ²²⁹. Whilst Mycerinus thus distinguished himself by his exemplary conduct to his subjects, he lost his daughter and only child, the first misfortune he experienced. Her death excessively afflicted him; and wishing to honour her funeral with more than ordinary splendour, he enclosed her body in an heifer ²³⁰ made of wood, and richly ornamented with gold ²³¹.

CXXX.

ragraph as the remainder of the chapter, that the kings administered justice to their subjects in person. It is not, therefore, very easy to see what could induce M. Paw to assert that the sovereigns of Ægypt had not the power of deciding in any civil cause.—*Larcher*.

²²⁹ *Redress the injury.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the same fact; and says, that he expended large sums of money in making compensation to such as he thought injured by judicial decisions.—*T*.

²³⁰ *In an heifer.*]—The Patrica were not only rites of Mithres, but also of Osiris, who was in reality the same deity. We have a curious inscription to this purpose, and a representation which was first exhibited by the learned John Price, in his observations upon Apuleius. It is copied from an original which he saw at Venice, and there is an engraving from it in the edition of Herodotus by Gronovius, as well as in that by Wesseling, but about the purport of it they are strangely mistaken. They suppose it to relate to a daughter of Mycerinus, the son of Cheops. She died, it seems, and her father was so affected with her death, that he made a bull of wood, which he gilt, and in it interred his daughter. Herodotus says that he saw the bull of Mycerinus, and that it alluded to this history. But notwithstanding the authority of this great author, we may be assured, that it was an emblematical representation, and an image of the sacred bull, Apis and Mnevis.—*Bryant*.

²³¹ *Gold.*]—The prophet Isaiah threatening the people of Is-

CXXX. This heifer was not buried; it remained even to my time in the palace of Sais, placed in a superb hall. Every day costly aromatics were burnt before it, and every night it was splendidly illuminated; in an adjoining apartment are deposited statues of the different concubines of Mycerinus, as the priests of Sais informed me. These are to the number of twenty, they are colossal figures, made of wood, and in a naked state, but what women they are intended to represent, I presume not to determine: I merely relate what I was told.

CXXXI. Of this heifer, and these colossal figures, there are some who speak thus: Mycerinus, they say, conceived an unnatural passion for his daughter, and offered violence to her person. She having, in the anguish of her mind, strangled herself, her father buried her in the manner we have described. The mother cut off the hands of those female attendants who assisted the king in his designs upon his daughter, and therefore these figures are marked by the same imperfections as distinguished the persons they represent when alive. The whole of this

rael for their blind confidence in Ægypt, says, "Ye shall defile also the covering of thy graven images of silver, and the ornaments of thy molten images of gold." Winkelman, speaking of the antiquity of art in Ægypt, says, "*Les figures taillées originairement en bois, et les statues jetées en fonte, ont toutes leur denomination particulière dans la langue Hébraïque: par la suite des tems les premières furent dorées ou revêtues de lames d'or.*"—7.

story,

story ²³², and that in particular which relates to the hands of these figures, to me seems very preposterous. I myself saw the hands lying on the ground, merely, as I thought, from the effect of time.

CXXXII. The body of this heifer is covered with a purple cloth ²³³, whilst the head and neck are very richly gilt: betwixt the horns there is a golden star; it is made to recline on its knees, and is about the size of a large cow. Every year it is brought from its apartment; at the period when the Ægyptians flagellate themselves in honour of a certain god, whom it does not become me to name, this heifer is produced to the light: it was the request, they say, of the dying princess to her father, that she might once every year behold the sun.

CXXXIII. Mycerinus after the above met with a second calamity; an oracle from the city Buto informed him that he should live six years, but die in the seventh; the intelligence astonished him, and he sent a message in return to reproach the god-

²³² *The whole of this story.*]—In the old version of Herodotus before quoted, this passage is rendered thus: “But this is as true as the man in the moone, for that a man with halfe an eye may clearely perceive that their hands fel off for very age, by reason that the wood, through long continuance of time, was spaked and perished.”—*Herodotus his second Booke entituled Euterpe.*

²³³ *With a purple cloth.*]—“The Ægyptians,” says Plutarch, “have a custom in the month Athyr, of ornamenting a golden image of a bull, which they cover with a black robe of the finest linen. This they do in commemoration of Isis, and her grief for the loss of Orus.”

deſs²³⁴ with injuſtice; for that his father and his uncle, who had been injurious to mankind, and impious to the gods, had enjoyed each a length of life of which he was to be deprived, who was diſtinguiſhed for his piety. The reply of the oracle told him, that his early death was the conſequence of the conduct for which he commended himſelf; he had not fulfilled the purpoſe of the fates, who had decreed that for the ſpace of one hundred and fifty years Ægypt ſhould be oppreſſed; of which determination the two preceding monarchs had been aware, but he had not. As ſoon as Mycerinus knew that his deſtiny was immutable, he cauſed an immenſe number of lamps to be made, by the light of which, when evening approached, he paſſed his hours in the feſtivity of the banquet²³⁵: he frequented by day and by night the groves and ſtreams, and whatever places he thought productive of delight: by this method of changing night into day, and apparently multiplying his ſix years into twelve, he thought to convict the oracle of falſehood.

CXXXIV. This prince alſo built a pyramid²³⁶,
but

²³⁴ *To reproach the goddeſs.*]—Inſtead of τῷ θεῷ Valcnaer propoſes to read τῇ θεῷ: “No god,” ſays he, “had an oracle at Buto, but the goddeſs called by the Greeks Latona, the nurſe of Apollo the ſon of Iſis, who had an oracle at Buto held in the higheſt eſtimation.”—T.

²³⁵ *Of the banquet.*]—Ælian records many examples ſimilar to this of Mycerinus, in his Various Hiſtory, book ii. chap. 41.

²³⁶ *Built a pyramid.*]—“If,” ſays Diodorus Siculus, ſpeak-
ing

but it was not by twenty feet so high as his father's ; it was a regular square on every side, three hundred feet in height, and as far as the middle of Æthiopian stone. Some of the Greeks erroneously believe this to have been erected by Rhodopis²³⁷ the courtesan, but they do not seem to me even to know who this Rhodopis was ; if they had, they never could have ascribed to her the building of a pyramid produced at the expence of several thou-

ing of this pyramid, "it is less in size and extent than the others, it is superior to them in the coarseness of the materials, and excellence of the workmanship."—*T*.

²³⁷ *Rhodopis*.]—The following account of this Rhodopis is from Strabo.

It is said that this pyramid was erected by the lovers of Rhodopis, by Sappho called Doricha : she was the mistress of her brother Charaxus, who carried to Naucratis Lesbian wine, in which article he dealt ; others call her Rhodope. It is reported of her, that one day when she was in the bath, an eagle snatched one of her slippers from an attendant, and carried it to Memphis. The king was then sitting in his tribunal ; the eagle, settling above his head, let fall the slipper into his bosom : the prince, astonished at this singular event, and at the smallness of the slipper, ordered a search to be made through the country for the female to whom it belonged. Having found her at Naucratis, she was presented to the king, who made her his wife : when she died she was buried in the manner we have described.

Diodorus Siculus says, that this pyramid was believed to have been erected to the memory of Rhodopis, at the expence of some governors who had been her admirers.

Perizonius, in his notes on Ælian, says, that there were two of this name ; one a courtesan, who afterwards became the wife of Psammitichus ; the other the fellow-slave of Æsop, who lived in the time of Amasis.—*T*.

and talents ²³⁸: besides this, Rhodopis lived at a different period, in the time, not of Mycerinus, but Amasis, and was many years after the monarchs who erected the pyramids. Rhodopis was born in Thrace, the slave of Iadmon, the son of Hephrætopolis the Samian: she was the fellow-servant of Æsop, who wrote fables ²³⁹, and was also the

²³⁸ *Several thousand talents.*]—Demetrius Poliorcetes compelled the Athenians to raise him immediately the sum of two hundred and fifty talents, which he sent to his mistress Lamia, saying it was for soap. When I inform the reader that she spent this immense sum in a feast given to her lord, what is here related of Rhodopis may seem less incredible.—7.

²³⁹ *Æsop, who wrote fables.*]—This name is so familiar, that it may at first sight seem superfluous and inconsistent to say any thing on the subject; but possibly every English reader may not know, that the fables which go under his name were certainly not of his composition; indeed but little concerning him can be ascertained as fact. Plutarch assures us, that Cræsus sent Æsop to the oracle of Delphi; that Æsop and Solon were together at the court of Cræsus; that the inhabitants of Delphi put him to death, and afterwards made atonement to his memory; and finally, Socrates verified his fables. Plato, who would not admit Homer into his commonwealth, gave Æsop an honourable place in them, at least such is the expression of Fontaine.

It remains to do away one absurd and vulgar prejudice concerning him. Modern painters and artists have thought proper to represent Bacchus as a gross, vulgar, and bloated personage; on the contrary, all the ancient poets and artists represented him as a youth of most exquisite beauty. A similar error has prevailed with respect to Æsop; that it is an error, Bentley's reasoning must be very satisfactory to whoever gives it the attention which it merits. "In Plato's feast," says he, "they are very merry upon Socrates's face, which resembled old Silenus. Æsop was one of the guests, but nobody presumes

the slave of Iadmon; all which may be thus easily proved: The Delphians, in compliance with the directions of the oracle, had desired publicly to know if any one required atonement to be made for the death of Æsop; but none appeared to do this, except a grandson of Iadmon, bearing the same name.

CXXXV. Rhodopis was first carried to Ægypt by Xanthus of Samos, whose view was to make money by her person. Her liberty was purchased for an immense sum by Charaxus²⁴⁰ of Mytilene, son

to jest on his ugliness." Philostratus has given, in two books, a description of a gallery of pictures; one is Æsop, with a chorus of animals about him; he is painted smiling and looking thoughtfully on the ground, but not a word on his deformity: the Athenians erected a statue in his honour. If he had been deformed, continues Bentley, a statue had been no more than a monument of his ugliness, it would have been kinder to his memory to have let it alone. But after all, the strongest argument to prove that he was not of a disagreeable form, is that he must have been sold into Samos by a trader in slaves. It is well known that these people brought up the most handsome youths they could procure. If we may judge of him from his companion and contubernalis, we must believe him a comely person. Rhodopis was the greatest beauty of her age, even to a proverb—*απανθ' ομοια κ' Ροδωπιδος ἡ καλή*.

The compilers of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* have given into the vulgar error, and scruple not to pronounce Æsop a person of striking deformity.—*T.*

²⁴⁰ *Charaxus*.]—Sappho had two other brothers, Eurygius and Larychus, or rather Larichus, as it is written in Athenæus, the Dorians being partial to terminations in *ichos*.—*Larcher*.

Athenæus asserts, that the courtesan of Naucratis, beloved by

son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poetess : thus becoming free, she afterwards continued in Ægypt, where her beauty procured her considerable wealth, though by no means adequate to the construction of such a pyramid ; the tenth part of her riches whoever pleases may even now ascertain, and they will not be found so great as has been represented. Wishing to perpetuate her name in Greece, she contrived what had never before been imagined, as an offering for the Delphic temple : she ordered a tenth part of her property to be expended in making a number of iron spits, each large enough to roast an ox ; they were sent to Delphi, where they are now to be seen ²⁴¹ behind the altar presented by the Chians. The courtesans of Naucratis ²⁴² are generally beautiful ; she of whom we speak was so universally celebrated that

by Charaxus, and satirised by Sappho, was called Dorica. The same author adds, that Herodotus calls her Rhodopis from ignorance ; but the opinion of Herodotus is confirmed by Strabo.—*Larcher*.

²⁴¹ *Where they are now to be seen.*]—They were not to be seen in the time of Plutarch ; in his tract assigning the reasons why the Pythian ceased to deliver her oracles in verse, Brasidias, whose office it was to shew the curiosities of the place, points out the place where they formerly stood.—*T*.

²⁴² *The courtesans of Naucratis.*]—“ Howbeit such arrant honest women as are fishe for everye man, have in no place the like credite as in the city of Naucrates. Forso much as this stalant of whom we speake, had her fame so bruted in all places, as almost there was none in Greece that had not heard of the fame of Rhodope ; after whome there sprang up also another as good as ever ambled, by name Archidice, &c.”—*Herodotus his second booke, entituled Euterpe*.

her name is familiar to every Greek. There was also another courtesan, named Archidice²⁴³, well known in Greece, though of less repute than Rhodopis. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her liberty, returned to Mytilene, and was severely handled²⁴⁴ by Sappho in some satirical verses:—but enough has been said on this subject.

CXXXVI. After Mycerinus, as the priests informed me, Asychis reigned in Ægypt; he erected the east entrance to the temple of Vulcan, which is far the greatest and most magnificent. Each of the above-mentioned vestibules is elegantly adorned with sculpture, and with paintings, but this is superior to them all. In this reign, when commerce was checked and injured from the extreme want of money, an ordinance passed, that any one

²⁴³ *Archidice.*]—Of this courtesan the following anecdote is related by Ælian: She demanded a great sum of money of a young man who loved her; the bargain broke off, and the lover withdrew re infected: he dreamed in the night that he lay with the woman, which cured his passion. Archidice, on learning this, pretended that the young man ought to pay her, and summoned him before the judges: the judge ordered the man to put the sum of money required in a purse, and to move it so that its shadow might fall on Archidice; his meaning was, that the young man's pleasure was but the shadow of a real one. The celebrated Lamia condemned this decision as unjust; the shadow of the purse, she observed, had not cured the courtesan's passion for the money, whereas the dream had cured the young man's passion for the woman.

²⁴⁴ *Severely handled.*]—The Greek word *μω*, may apply either to Charaxus or Rhodopis; the application appears most obvious to the former.—T.

might

might borrow money, giving the body of his father as a pledge; by this law the sepulchre of the debtor became in the power of the creditor; for if the debt was not discharged he could neither be buried with his family, nor in any other vault, nor was he suffered to inter one of his descendants. This prince, desirous of surpassing all his predecessors, left as a monument of his fame a pyramid of brick, with this inscription on a piece of marble.—“Do not disparage my worth by comparing me to those pyramids composed of stone; I am as much superior to them as Jove is to the rest of the deities; I am formed of bricks²⁴⁵, which were made of mud adhering to poles drawn from the bottom of the lake.”—This was the most memorable of this king’s actions.

CXXXVII. He was succeeded by an inhabitant of Anyfis, whose name was Anyfis, and who

²⁴⁵ *Formed of bricks.*]—Mr. Greaves asserts, that all the pyramids were made of stone, of course he did not penetrate far enough into Egypt to see the one here mentioned; it is situated about four leagues from Cairo, and is noticed both by Norden and Pococke.—T.

As to what concerns the works on which the Israelites were employed in Egypt, I admit that I have not been able to find any ruins of bricks burnt in the fire. There is indeed a wall of that kind which is sunk very deep in the ground, and is very long, near to the pyramids, and adjoining to the bridges of the Saracens, that are situated in the plain; but it appears too modern to think that the bricks of which it is formed were made by the Israelites. All that I have seen elsewhere of brick building, is composed of the large kind of bricks hardened in the sun, such as those of the brick pyramid.—Norden.

was blind. In his reign Sabacus²⁴⁶ king of Æthiopia overran Ægypt with a numerous army; Anyfis fled to the morassies, and saved his life, but Sabacus continued master of Ægypt for the space of fifty years. Whilst he retained his authority, he made it a rule not to punish any crime with death, but according to the magnitude of the offence he condemned the criminal to raise the ground near the place to which he belonged; by which means the situation of the different cities became more and more elevated: they were somewhat raised under the reign of Sesostris by the digging of the canals, but they became still more so under the reign of the Æthiopian. This was the case with all the cities of Ægypt, but more particularly with the city of Bubastis. There is in this city a temple, which well deserves our attention; there may be others larger as well as more splendid, but none which have a more delightful situation. Bubastis in Greek is synonymous with Artemis or Diana²⁴⁷.

²⁴⁶ *Sabacus.*]—This event happened in the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah. Prideaux, on the authority of Syncellus, says he took Bocchoris, and burnt him alive; but it is more generally believed that Bocchoris was anterior to Sabacus: this last is the person mentioned in the book of Kings, by the name of So.—*T.*

²⁴⁷ *Artemis or Diana.*]—Bubastis was a virgin, presided at childbirths, and was the symbol of the moon. This resemblance with their Diana caused the Greeks to name her the Diana of the Ægyptians: yet the similitude was far from perfect, for with the latter she was not the goddess of the mountains, the woods, and the chase. This difference probably caused Juvenal to say,

Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.—*Larcher.*

CXXXVIII. This temple, taking away the entrance, forms an island; two branches of the Nile meet at the entrance of the temple, and then separating flow on each side entirely round it; each of these branches is one hundred feet wide, and regularly shaded with trees; the vestibule is forty cubits high, and ornamented with various figures, none of which are less than six cubits. The temple is in the centre of the town, and in every part a conspicuous object; its situation has never been altered, though every other part of the city has been elevated; a wall ornamented with sculpture surrounds the building; in the interior part a grove of lofty trees shades the temple, in the centre of which is the statue of the goddess: the length and breadth of the temple each way is one stadium. There is a paved way which leads through the public square of the city, from the entrance of this temple to that of Mercury ²⁴⁸, which is about thirty stadia in length.

CXXXIX.

²⁴⁸ *Mercury.*]—The Ægyptian Mercury was named Thoth or Theuth. Thoth with the Ægyptians was the inventor of the sciences; and as Mercury with the Greeks presided over the sciences, this last people called Thoth in their tongue by the name of Hermes or Mercury: they had also given the name of Mercury to Anubis, on account of some fancied similitude betwixt those deities. “It is not,” says Plutarch, “a dog properly so called, which they revere under the name of Mercury, it is his vigilance and fidelity, the instinct which teaches him to distinguish a friend from an enemy, that which (to use the expression of Plato) makes this animal a suitable emblem to the god the immediate patron of reason.”

Servius on Virgil has a remark to the same effect.—*Larcher.*

This

CXXXIX. The deliverance of Ægypt from the Æthiopian was, as they told me, effected by a vision, which induced him to leave the country : a person appeared to him in a dream, advising him to assemble all the priests of Ægypt, and afterwards cut them in pieces. This vision to him seemed to demonstrate, that in consequence of some act of impiety, which he was thus tempted to perpetrate, his ruin was at hand, from heaven or from man. Determined not to do this deed, he conceived it more prudent to withdraw himself ; particularly as the time of his reigning over Ægypt was, according to the declarations of the oracles, now to terminate. During his former residence in Æthiopia, the oracles of his country ²⁴⁹ had told him, that he should reign fifty years over Ægypt : this period being accomplished, he was so terrified by the vision, that he voluntarily withdrew himself.

This deity also with the Romans was esteemed the patron of arts, and the protector of learned men. See the ode addressed to him by Horace, beginning with

Mercuri, nam te decilis magistro
Movit Amphion lapides canendo
Tuque testudo resonare septem
Callida nervis, &c.

Where he is not only represented as the patron, but the teacher of music. Learned men also were called Viri Mercuriales.

Nisi Faunus lectum
Dextra levasset, Mercuridium
Cullos virorum.—Horace,

T.

²⁴⁹ *The oracles of his country.*]—The oracles in Æthiopia were the oracles of Jupiter.—T.

CXL. Immediately on his departure²⁵⁰ from Ægypt, the blind prince quitted his place of refuge, and resumed the government: he had resided for the period of fifty years in a solitary island, which he himself had formed of ashes and of earth. He directed those Ægyptians who frequented his neighbourhood for the purpose of disposing of their corn, to bring with them, unknown to their Æthiopian master, ashes for his use. Amyrtæus was the first person who discovered this island, which all the princes who reigned during the space of seven hundred years²⁵¹ before Amyrtæus were unable to do: it is called Elbo, and is on each side ten stadia in length.

CXLI. The successor of this prince was Sethos, a priest of Vulcan²⁵²; he treated the military of Ægypt.

²⁵⁰ *On his departure.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that after the departure of Sabacus there was an anarchy of two years, which was succeeded by the reign of twelve kings, who at their joint expence constructed the labyrinth.

²⁵¹ *Seven hundred years.*]—M. Larcher is of opinion, that this is a mistake, crept into the manuscript of Herodotus from a confusion of the numeral letters by copyists.—7.

²⁵² *Priest of Vulcan.*]—The following account is given by M. Larcher, from Plato, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus.

A prince cannot reign in Ægypt if he be ignorant of sacred affairs. If an individual of any other class comes accidentally to the crown, he must be immediately admitted of the sacerdotal order. “The kings,” says Plutarch, “must be either of the order of priests or soldiers, these two classes being distinguished, the one by their wisdom, the other by their valour.”—When they have chosen a warrior for king, he is instantly admitted.

Ægypt with extreme contempt, and as if he had no occasion for their services. Among other indignities, he deprived them of their *aruræ*²³⁵, or fields of fifty feet square, which, by way of reward, his predecessors had given each soldier: the result was, that when Senacherib, king of Arabia and Assyria, attacked Ægypt with a mighty army, the warriors, whom he had thus treated refused to assist him. In this perplexity the priest retired to the shrine of his god, before which he lamented his danger and misfortunes: here he sunk into a profound sleep, and his deity promised him in a dream, that if he marched to meet the Assyrians he should experience no injury, for that he would furnish him with assistance. The vision inspired him with confidence; he put himself at the head of his adherents, and marched to Pélusium, the entrance of Ægypt: not

mitted into the order of priests, who instruct him in their mysterious philosophy. The priests may censure the prince, give him advice, and regulate his actions. By them is fixed the time when he may walk, bathe, or visit his wife.

“Such privileges as the above,” says M. Larcher, “must necessarily inspire them with contempt for the rest of the nation, and must have excited a spirit of disgust in a people not blinded by superstition.” Sethos however experienced how dangerous it was to follow the maxims of the priesthood only.

²³⁵ *Arura*.]—*Arura* is a Greek word, which signifies literally a field ploughed for corn, and is sometimes used for the corn itself. It was also an Ægyptian measure. “Ægypt,” says Strabo, “was divided into præfectures, which again were divided into Toparchias, and these into other portions, the smallest of which were termed *αργαί*.” Suidas says it was a measure of fifty feet: from this word is derived *aruran*, *aro*, &c.—See *Hoffman* on this word.

a foldier accompanied the party, which was entirely composed of tradefmen ²⁵⁴ and artizans. On their arrival at Pelufium, fo immense a number of mice ²⁵⁵ infested by night the enemy's camp, that their quivers and bows, together with what fecured their fhields to their arms, were gnawed in pieces. In the morning the Arabians, finding themfelves without arms, fled in confufion, and loft great numbers of their men. There is now to be feen in the temple of Vulcan a marble ftatue of this king,

²⁵⁴ *Tradefmen.*]—The Egyptians were divided into three claffes; thofe of rank, who with the priefts occupied the moft diftinguifhed honours of the ftate; the military, who were alfo husbandmen; and artizans, who exercifed the meaner employments. The above is from Diodorus Siculus, who fpeaks probably of the three principal divifions: Herodotus mentions feven claffes.—*Lafcher.*

²⁵⁵ *Immense a number of mice.*]—The Babylonift Talmud hath it that this deftruction upon the army of the Affyrians was executed by lightning, and fome of the Targums are quoted for faying the fame thing: but it feemeth moft likely, that it was effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which is frequent in thofe parts, and often when it lights among a multitude deftroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in thofe vaft caravans of the Mahometans who go their annual pilgrimages to Mecca; and the words of Ifaiah, which threatened Senacherib with a blaft that God would fend upon him, feem to denote this thing.

Herodotus gives us fome kind of a difguifed account of this deliverance from the Affyrians, in a fabulous application of it to the city of Pelufium, inftead of Jerufalem, and to Sethos the Egyptian, inftead of Hezekiah.

It is particularly to be remarked, that Herodotus calls the king of Affyria Senacherib as the fcriptures do, and the time in both doth alfo well agree; which plainly fhews that it is the
fame

king, having a mouse in his hand, and with this inscription : "Whoever thou art, learn from my fortune to reverence the gods."

CXLII. Thus, according to the information of the Ægyptians and their priests, from the first king to this last, who was priest of Vulcan, a period of three hundred and forty-one generations had passed, in which there had been as many high priests, and the same number of kings. Three generations are equal to one hundred years, and therefore three hundred generations are the same as ten thousand years; the forty-one generations that remain make one thousand three hundred and forty years. During the above space of eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, they assert that no divinity appeared in a human form, but they do not say the same of the time anterior to this account,

same fact that is referred to by Herodotus, although much disguised in the relation; which may be easily accounted for, when we consider that it comes to us through the hands of such as had the greatest aversion both to the nation and to the religion of the Jews, and therefore would relate nothing in such a manner as would give reputation to either.—*Prideaux's Connection.*

M. Larcher, in a note of five pages on the above, says little more than our countryman, except that he adopts, with respect to the destruction of the army of Senacherib, the opinion of Josephus, whose words are these :

"Senacherib, on his return from the Ægyptian war, found his army, which he had left under Rabshekeah, almost quite destroyed by a judicial pestilence, which swept away, in officers and common soldiers, the first night they sat down before the city, one hundred eighty-five thousand men."—*T.*

or of that of the kings who reigned afterwards. During the above period of time the sun, they told me, had four times deviated from his ordinary course, having twice risen where he uniformly goes down, and twice gone down where he uniformly rises. This however had produced no alteration in the climate of Ægypt; the fruits of the earth, and the phænomena of the Nile, had always been the same, nor had any extraordinary or fatal diseases occurred.

CXLIII. When the historian Hecataeus²⁵⁶ was
at

²⁵⁶ *When the historian Hecataeus.*] — Athenæus relates the same circumstance as from Hecataeus, which may serve to confirm the assertion of Porphyry, that Herodotus took great part of his second book, with very slight alteration, from Hecataeus. If this fact be once allowed, Herodotus will lose the character that he has long supported, of an honest man, and a faithful historian. But it appears from Athenæus himself, that the work which in later ages passed under the name of Hecataeus the Milesian, was not universally acknowledged for genuine; and Callimachus, who employed much of his time and pains in distinguishing genuine from spurious authors, attributes the supposed work of Hecataeus to another and a later writer. But what is perhaps even a stronger proof in our author's favour is, that he is never charged with the crime of theft by Plutarch, whose knowledge of this plagiarism, if it had ever existed, cannot be questioned, when we consider his extensive and accurate learning; and whose zeal to discover it cannot be doubted, when we reflect that he has written a treatise expressly to prove the malignity of Herodotus, though in fact it only proves his own. Could Plutarch miss such an opportunity of taxing Herodotus? Could he have failed of saying, that this historian was at once so malicious and so ungrateful as to speak with disrespect and contempt of the author

at Thebes, he recited to the priests of Jupiter the particulars of his descent, and endeavoured to prove that he was the sixteenth in a right line from some god. They addressed him in reply, as they afterwards did myself, who had said nothing on the subject of my family. They introduced me into a spacious temple, and displayed to me a number of figures in wood ; this number I have before specified, for every high priest places here during his life a wooden figure of himself. The priests enumerated them before me, and proved, as they ascended from the last to the first, that the son followed the father in regular succession. When Hecataeus, in the explanation of his genealogy, ascended regularly, and traced his descent in the sixteenth line from a god, they opposed a similar mode of reasoning to his, and absolutely denied the possibility of a human being's descent from a god. They informed him that each of these colossal

to whom he was obliged for a considerable portion of his own history ?

Our materials for an account of Hecataeus are at best but scanty. He was a native of Miletus, and son of one Ægisander ; he was one of the very first writers of prose, with Cadmus and Pherecydes of Scyros. Salmasius contends that he was older than Pherecydes, but younger than Eumelus. The most ample account of him is found in Vossius. He certainly wrote a book of genealogies ; and the sentence with which he commences his history is preserved in Demetrius Phalereus : it is to this effect, “ What follows is the recital of Hecataeus of Miletus ; I write what seems to me to be true. The Greeks in my opinion have related many things contradictory and ridiculous.”—*T.*

figures was a Piromis²⁵⁷, descended from a Piromis ; and they further proved, that without any variation this had uniformly occurred to the number of the three hundred and forty-one, but in this whole series there was no reference either to a god or a hero. Piromis in the Ægyptian language means one “ beautiful and good.”

* CXLIV. From these priests I learned, that the individuals whom these figures represented, so far from possessing any divine attributes, had all been what we have described. But in the times which preceded, immortal beings²⁵⁸ had reigned in Ægypt, that

²⁵⁷ *Piromis.*]—There are many strange and contradictory opinions about this passage, which, if I do not deceive myself, is very plain, and the purport of it this :—“After the fabulous accounts, there had been an uninterrupted succession of Piromis after Piromis, and the Ægyptians referred none of these to the dynasties of either the gods or heroes, who were supposed first to have possessed the country.”—From hence I think it is manifest that Piromis signifies a man.—*Bryant.*

M. Lacroze observes, that Brama, which the Indians of Malabar pronounce Biroumas, in the Sanscreeet or sacred language of India, signifies the same as Piromis ; and that Piromia, in the language of the inhabitants of Ceylon, means also at this day a man. Quære, is this similitude the effect of chance, or of the conquests of Sesostris, who left colonies in various parts of Asia ?—*Larcher.*

²⁵⁸ *Immortal beings.*]—M. Larcher says, that all governments were at first theocratic, and afterwards became monarchic and democratic. In the theocratic form the priests governed alone who also preserved a considerable influence in monarchies and republics. What prevents our supposing that Ægypt was governed

that they had communication with men, and had uniformly one superior; that Orus²⁵⁹, whom the Greeks call Apollo, was the last of these; he was the son of Osiris, and after he had expelled Typhon²⁶⁰, himself succeeded to the throne: it is also

governed many thousand years by priests; and that this government, in reality theocratic, was named from that deity to whom the high priest who enjoyed the sovereign authority attached himself?

²⁵⁹ Orus.]—According to Plutarch, the Egyptians held two principles, one good, the other evil. The good principle consisted of three persons, father, mother, and son; Osiris was the father, Isis the mother, and Orus the son. The bad principle was Typhon: Osiris, strictly speaking, was synonymous with reason; Typhon the passions, *αλογος*, without reason.—*T.*

The notion of a Trinity, more or less removed from the purity of the Christian faith, is found to have been a leading principle in all the ancient schools of philosophy, and in the religions of almost all nations; and traces of an early popular belief of it appear even in the abominable rites of idolatrous worship. The worship of a Trinity is traced to an earlier age than that of Plato or Pythagoras, or even of Moses.—*Bishop Horsley.*

²⁶⁰ Typhon.]—Typhon, as the principle of evil, was always inclined to it; all bad passions, diseases, tempests, and earthquakes, were imputed to him. Like the untutored Indians and savages, the Egyptians paid adoration to Typhon from fear; they consecrated to him the hippopotamos, the crocodile, and the ass. According to Jablonski, the word Typhon is derived from *Then* a wind, and *phou* pernicious.

To Osiris is ascribed the introduction of the vine; “and where,” says Mr. Bryant, “that was not adapted to the soil, he shewed the people the way to make wine of barley.”—*T.*

The Greeks considered Osiris the same person as Bacchus, because they discovered a great resemblance between the fables related of Bacchus and the traditions of the Egyptians concerning Osiris. Learned men of modern times have believed that*

also to be observed, that in the Greek tongue *Osiris* is synonymous with *Bacchus*.

CXLV. The Greeks consider *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, and *Pan*, as the youngest of their deities: but *Ægypt* esteems *Pan* as the most ancient of the gods, and even of those eight ²⁶¹ who are accounted the first. *Hercules* was among those of the second rank in point of antiquity, and one of those called the twelve gods. *Bacchus* was of the third rank; and among those whom the twelve produced. I have before specified the number of years which the *Ægyptians* reckon from the time of *Hercules* to the reign of *Amasis*: from the time of *Pan* a still more distant period is reckoned; from *Bacchus*, the youngest of all, to the time of *Amasis*, is a period,* they say, of fifteen thousand years. On this subject the *Ægyptians* have no doubts, for they

that *Huren*, one of the three divinities to whom the *Indians* now pay adoration, is the ancient *Osiris*, but this remains to be proved.—*Larcher*.

* ²⁶¹ *Even of those eight.*]—The ark, according to the traditions of the Gentile world, was prophetic, and was looked upon as a kind of temple or place of residence of the deity. In the compass of eight persons it comprehended all mankind; which eight persons were thought to be so highly favoured by heaven, that they were looked up to by their posterity with great reverence, and came at last to be reputed deities. Hence in the ancient mythology of *Ægypt* there were precisely eight gods; of these the sun was chief, and was said first to have reigned. Some made *Hephæstus* the first king of that country; whilst others supposed it to have been *Pan*. There is no real inconsistency in these accounts, they were all three titles of the same deity, the sun.—*Bryant*.

profess

profess to have always computed the years, and kept written accounts of them with the minutest accuracy. From Bacchus, who is said to be the son of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus ²⁶², to the present time is one thousand six hundred years; from Hercules, the reputed son of Alcmena, is nine hundred years; and from Pan, whom the Greeks call the son of Penelope and Mercury, is eight hundred years, before which time was the Trojan war.

CXLVI. Upon this subject I have given my own opinion, leaving it to my readers to determine for themselves. If these deities had been known in Greece, and then grown old, like Hercules the son of Amphitryon, Bacchus the son of Semele; and Pan the son of Penelope, it might have been asserted of them, that although mortals they possessed the names of those deities known in Greece in the times which preceded. Of Bacchus the Greeks affirm, that as soon as he was born ²⁶³ Jove inclosed

²⁶² *Daughter of Cadmus.*]—The son of Cadmus is supposed to have lived at the time of the Trojan war; his daughter Semele is said to have been sixteen hundred years before Herodotus, by that writer's own account:—She was at this rate prior to the foundation of Argos, and many centuries before her father, near a thousand years before her brother.—*Bryant.*

²⁶³ *As soon as he was born.*]—Upon this subject I have somewhere met an opinion to the following effect: When the ancients spoke of the nativity of their gods, we are to understand the time in which their worship was first introduced; when mention is made of their marriage, reference is to be made to the time when the worship of one was combined with that of another.
Some

closed him in his thigh, and carried him to Nyfa, a town of Æthiopia beyond Ægypt: with regard to the nativity of Pan they have no tradition among them; from all which I am convinced, that these deities were the last known among the Greeks, and that they date the period of their nativity from the precise time that their names came amongst them; —the Ægyptians are of the same opinion.

CXLVII. I shall now give some account of the internal history of Ægypt; to what I learned from the natives themselves, and the information of strangers, I shall add what I myself beheld. At the death of their sovereign, the priest of Vulcan, the Ægyptians recovered their freedom; but as they could not live without kings, they chose twelve, among whom they divided the different districts of Ægypt. These princes connected themselves with each other by intermarriages, engaging solemnly to promote their common interest, and never to engage in any acts of separate policy. The principal motive of their union was to guard against

Some of the ancients speak of the tombs of their gods, and that of Jupiter in Crete was notorious, the solution of which is, that the gods sometimes appeared on earth, and after residing for a time amongst men, returned to their native skies; the period of their return was that of their supposed deaths.

The following remark is found in Cicero's Tusculan Questions: "*Ipsi illi majorum gentium dii qui habentur hinc a nobis in cælum profecti reperiuntur.*"—The gods of the popular religious were all but deceased mortals advanced from earth to heaven.—7.

the declaration of an oracle, which had said, that whoever among them should offer in the temple of Vulcan a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole sovereign of Ægypt; and it is to be remembered that they assembled indifferently in every temple.

CXLVIII. It was the resolution of them all, to leave behind them a common monument of their fame:—With this view, beyond the lake Mœris, near the city of crocodiles²⁶⁴, they constructed a labyrinth²⁶⁵, which exceeds I can truly say all that has

²⁶⁴ *City of crocodiles.*]—We are ignorant of the real name of this city; it is very probable that it was called from the word Champfis, which according to our author was the Ægyptian term for crocodile.—*Larcher*.

²⁶⁵ *A labyrinth.*]—Diodorus says this was built as a sepulchre for Mendes; Strabo, that it was near the sepulchre of the king that built it, which was probably Imandes. Pomponius Mela speaks of it as built by Psammitichus; but as Menes or Imandes is mentioned by several, possibly he might be one of the twelve kings of greatest influence and authority, who might have the chief ordering and direction of this great building, and as a peculiar honour might have his sepulchre apart from the others.

It was such an extraordinary building, that it is said Daedalus came to Ægypt on purpose to see it, and built the labyrinth in Crete for king Minos on the model of this. See a minute description of the labyrinth and temple of the labyrinth by Pococke.

Amidst the ruins of the town of Caroun, the attention is particularly fixed by several narrow, low, and very long cells, which seem to have had no other use than of containing the bodies of the sacred crocodiles: these remains can only correspond with the labyrinth. Strabo, Herodotus, and Ptolemy, all agree in placing

has been said of it; whoever will take the trouble to compare them, will find all the works of Greece much inferior to this, both in regard to the workmanship and expence. The temples of Ephesus and Samos may justly claim admiration, and the pyramids may individually be compared to many of the

placing the labyrinth beyond the city Arsinoe toward Libya, and on the bank of the lake Mœris, which is the precise situation of these ruins.

Strabo's account of this place does not exactly accord with that of Herodotus, but it confirms it in general: Strabo describes winding and various passages so artfully contrived, that it was impossible to enter any one of the palaces, or to leave it when entered, without a guide.—*Savary*.

The architect who should be employed to make a plan of the labyrinth, from the description of Herodotus, would find himself greatly embarrassed. We cannot form an idea of the parts which composed it; and as the apartments were then so differently formed from ours, what was not obscure in the time of our author, is too much so for us at present. M. Larcher proceeds in an attempt to describe its architecture; and informs the reader, that he conceives the courts must have been in the style of the hotel de Soubise.

There were anciently four celebrated labyrinths; one in Ægypt, a second in Crete; a third at Lemnos, and a fourth erected by Porfenna in Tuscany. That at Lemnos is described in very high terms by Pliny.

Labyrinth, in its original sense, means any perplexed and twisted place. Suidas adds λεγεταιδε επι των φλυαρων, of prating silly people: in its figurative sense it is applied to any obscure or complicated question, or to any argument which leaves us where we first set out.

The construction of the labyrinth has been imputed to many different persons, on which account the learned have supposed, that there were more labyrinths than one. That this was not the case is satisfactorily proved by Larcher in a very elaborate note.—*T*.

magnificent

magnificent structures of Greece, but even these are inferior to the labyrinth. It is composed of twelve courts, all of which are covered; their entrances are opposite to each other, six to the north and six to the south; one wall encloses the whole; the apartments are of two kinds, there are fifteen hundred above the surface of the ground, and as many beneath, in all three thousand. Of the former I speak from my own knowledge and observation, of the latter from the information I received. The Egyptians who had the care of the subterraneous apartments would not suffer me to see them, and the reason they alledged was, that in these were preserved the sacred crocodiles, and the bodies of the kings who constructed the labyrinth: of these therefore I presume not to speak; but the upper apartments I myself examined, and I pronounce them among the greatest efforts of human industry and art. The almost infinite number of winding passages through the different courts, excited my warmest admiration: from spacious halls I passed through smaller apartments, and from them again to large and magnificent courts, almost without end. The ceilings and walls are all of marble, the latter richly adorned with the finest sculpture; around each court are pillars of the whitest and most polished marble: at the point where the labyrinth terminates stands a pyramid one hundred and sixty cubits high, having large figures of animals engraved on its outside, and the entrance to it is by a subterraneous path.

CXLIX. Wonderful as this labyrinth is, the lake Mœris²⁶⁶, near which it stands, is still more extraordinary :

²⁶⁶ *The lake Mœris.*]—That the reader may compare what modern writers and travellers have said on this subject, I shall place before them, from Larcher, Pococke, Norden, Savary, &c. what to me seems most worthy of attention.

I shall first remark, that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Pomponius Mela, differ but little in opinion concerning its extent: according to the former it was four hundred and fifty miles in circumference, the latter says it was five hundred; the former asserts also that in some places it was three hundred feet deep. The design of it was probably to hinder the Nile from overflowing the country too much, which was effected by drawing off such a quantity of water, when it was apprehended that there might be an inundation sufficient to hurt the land. The water, Pococke observes, is of a disagreeable muddy taste, and almost as salt as the sea, which quality it probably contracts from the nitre that is in the earth, and the salt which is every year left in the mud.

The circumference of the lake at present is no more than fifty leagues. Larcher says we must distinguish betwixt the lake itself, and the canal of communication from the Nile; that the former was the work of nature, the latter of art. This canal, a most stupendous effort of art, is still entire; it is called Bahr Youfoph, the river of Joseph, according to Savary forty leagues in length. There were two other canals with sluices at their mouths, from the lake to the river, which were alternately shut and opened when the Nile increased or decreased. This work united every advantage, and supplied the deficiencies of a low inundation, by retaining water which would uselessly have been expended in the sea. It was still more beneficial when the increase of the Nile was too great, by receiving that superfluity which would have prevented seed-time.

Were the canal of Joseph cleaned, the ancient mounds repaired, and the sluices restored, this lake might again serve the same purposes.—The pyramids described by Herodotus no longer subsist, neither are they mentioned by Strabo.

When

extraordinary: the circumference of this is three thousand six hundred stadia,* or sixty schæni, which is the length of Ægypt about the coast. This lake stretches itself from north to south, and in its deepest parts is two hundred cubits; it is entirely the produce of human industry, which indeed the work itself testifies, for in its centre may be seen two pyramids, each of which is two hundred cubits above and as many beneath the water; upon the summit of each is a colossal statue of marble, in a sitting attitude. The precise altitude of these pyramids is consequently four hundred cubits; these four hundred cubits, or one hundred orgyæ, are adapted to a stadium of six hundred feet; an orgyia is six feet, or four cubits, for a foot is four palms, and a cubit six.

The waters of the lake are not supplied by springs; the ground which it occupies is of itself remarkably dry, but it communicates by a secret channel with the Nile; for six months the lake empties itself into the Nile, and the remaining six the Nile supplies the lake. During the six months in which the waters of the lake ebb, the fishery²⁶⁷ which

When it is considered that this was the work of an individual, and that its object was the advantage and comfort of a numerous people, it must be agreed, with M. Savary, that Mæris, who constructed it, performed a far more glorious work than either the pyramids or the labyrinth.—*T.*

²⁶⁷ *The fishery.*]—Diodorus Siculus informs us, that in this lake were found twenty-two different sorts of fish, and that so great a quantity were caught, that the immense number of hands

which is here carried on furnishes the royal treasury with a talent of silver ²⁶⁸ every day; but as soon as the Nile begins to pour its waters into the lake, it produces no more than twenty minæ.

CL. Of this lake the inhabitants affirm, that it has a subterraneous passage inclining inland towards the west to the mountains above Memphis, where it discharges itself into the Libyan sands. I was anxious to know what became of the earth ²⁶⁹, which must somewhere have necessarily been heaped up in the digging this lake; as my search after it was fruitless, I made enquiries concerning it of those who lived nearer the lake. I was the more willing to believe, when they told me where it was carried, as I had before heard of a similar expedient used at

perpetually employed in salting them were hardly equal to the work.—*T.*

²⁶⁸ *Talent of silver.*]—The silver which the fishery of this lake produced was appropriated to find the queen with cloaths and perfumes.—*Larcher.*

²⁶⁹ *What became of the earth.*]—Herodotus, when he viewed this lake, might well be surprized at the account they gave him, that it was made by art; and had reason to ask them what they did with the earth they dug out. But he seems to have too much credulity, in being satisfied when they told him that they carried the earth to the Nile, and so it was washed away by the river; for it was very extraordinary to carry such a vast quantity of earth above ten miles from the nearest part of the lake, and fifty or sixty from the further parts, even though they might contrive water carriage for a great part of the way. This I should imagine a thing beyond belief, even if the lake were no larger than it is at present, that is, it may be fifty miles long and ten broad.—*Pococke.*

Nineveh, an Assyrian city. Some robbers, who were solicitous to get possession of the immense treasures of Sardanapalus king of Nineveh, which were deposited in subterraneous apartments, began from the place where they lived to dig under ground, in a direction towards them. Having taken the most accurate measurement, they continued their mine to the palace of the king; as night approached they regularly emptied the earth into the Tigris, which flows near Nineveh, and at length accomplished their purpose. A plan entirely similar was executed in Ægypt, except that the work was here carried on not by night but by day; the Ægyptians threw the earth into the Nile, as they dug it from the trench; thus it was regularly dispersed, and this, as they told me, was the process of the lake's formation.

CLL. These twelve kings were eminent for the justice of their administration. Upon a certain occasion they were offering sacrifice in the temple of Vulcan, and on the last day of the festival were about to make the accustomed libation²⁷⁰; for this purpose the chief priest handed to them the golden cups used on these solemnities, but he mistook the

²⁷⁰ *To make the accustomed libation.*—As the kings were also priests, they did not before the time of Ptolemy drink wine; and if sometimes they made libations to the gods with this liquor, it was not that they believed it agreeable to them, but that they considered it as the blood of the gods who had formerly fought against them: they thought that their bodies, incorporated with the earth, had produced the vine.—*Plutarch, de Iside & Osiride.*

number, and instead of twelve gave only eleven. Psammitichus²⁷¹, who was the last of them, not having a cup, took off his helmet²⁷², which happened to be of brass, and from this poured his libation. The other princes wore helmets in common, and had them on the present occasion, so that the circumstance of this one king having and using his was accidental and innocent. Observing, however, this action of Psammitichus, they remembered the prediction of the oracle, “that he among them who should pour a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole monarch of Ægypt.” They minutely investigated the matter, and being satisfied that this action of Psammitichus was entirely the effect of

²⁷¹ *Psammitichus.*]—In the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of Manasseh, the twelve confederated kings of Ægypt, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling out among themselves, expelled Psammitichus, one of their number, out of his share which he had hitherto had with them in the government of the kingdom, and drove him into banishment; whereupon flying into the seas near the sea he lay hid there, till having gotten together, out of the Arabian free-booters and the pirates of Caria and Ionia, such a number of soldiers as with the Ægyptians of his party made a considerable army, he marched with it against the other eleven; and having overthrown them in battle, slew several of them, and drove the rest out of the land, and thereon seizing the whole kingdom to himself reigned over it in great prosperity fifty-and-four years.—*Prideaux.*

²⁷² *His helmet.*]—It is certain that the ancients made use of their helmets on various occasions; whenever any thing was to be decided by lots, the lots were cast into a helmet; and as they appear very obvious for such a purpose, so many instances in ancient writers occur of soldiers drinking out of them.—*T.*

accident,

accident, they could not think him worthy of death; they nevertheless deprived him of a considerable part of his power, and confined him to the marshy parts of the country, forbidding him to leave this situation, or to communicate with the rest of Ægypt.

CLII. This Psammitichus had formerly fled to Syria, from Sabacus the Æthiopian, who had killed his father Necos; when the Æthiopian, terrified by the vision had abandoned his dominions, those Ægyptians who lived near Sais had solicited Psammitichus to return. He was now a second time driven into exile amongst the fens, by the eleven kings, from this circumstance of the brazen helmet. He felt the strongest resentment for the injury, and determined to avenge himself on his persecutors; he sent therefore to the oracle of Latona, at Buto²⁷³, which has among the Ægyptians the highest character for veracity. He was in-

²⁷³ *Latona, at Buto.*]—This goddess, one of the eight most ancient divinities of the country, was called Buto, and particularly honoured in the city of that name; she had been the nurse of Apollo and Diana, that is to say, of Orus and Bubastis, whom she had preserved from the fury of Typhon; the mole was sacred to her. Antoninus Liberalis says, that she assumed the form of this little animal to elude the pursuit of Typhon. Plutarch says, that the Ægyptians rendered divine honours to the mole on account of its blindness; darkness, according to them, being more ancient than light. M. Larcher adds, as a remark upon the observation of Plutarch, what indeed the researches of natural historians have made manifest, that the mole is not blind, but has eyes, though very minute.

formed, that the sea should avenge his cause, by producing brazen figures of men. He was little inclined to believe that such a circumstance could ever occur; but some time afterwards, a body of Ionians and Carians²⁷⁴, who had been engaged in a voyage of plunder, were compelled by distress to touch at Ægypt; they landed in brazen armour. Some Ægyptians hastened to inform Psammitichus in his marshes of this incident; and as the messenger had never before seen persons so armed, he said, that some brazen men had arisen from the sea, and were plundering the country. He instantly conceived this to be the accomplishment of the oracle's prediction, and entered into alliance with the strangers, engaging them by splendid promises to assist him; with them and his Ægyptian adherents he vanquished the eleven kings.

CLIII. After he thus became sole sovereign of Ægypt, he built at Memphis the vestibule of the temple of Vulcan, which is towards the south; op-

²⁷⁴ *Ionians and Carians.*]—See Prideaux's note in the preceding chapter.—9.

Psammitichus destroyed Tementes king of Ægypt. The god Ammon had cautioned Tementes, who consulted him, to beware of cocks. Psammitichus being intimately acquainted with Pignes the Carian, learned from him that the Carians were the first who wore crests upon their helmets: he instantly comprehended the meaning of the oracle, and engaged the assistance of a large body of Carians; these he led towards Memphis, and fixed his camp near the temple of Isis, here he engaged and conquered his adversary.—*Polyænus.*

posite to this he erected an edifice for Apis, in which he is kept when publickly exhibited: it is supported by colossal figures twelve cubits high, which serve as columns; the whole of the building is richly decorated with sculpture. Apis, in the language of Greece, is Epaphus.

CLIV. In acknowledgment of the assistance he had received, Psammitichus conferred on the Ionians and Carians certain lands, which were termed the Camp, immediately opposite to each other, and separated by the Nile: he fulfilled also his other engagements with them, and entrusted to their care some Ægyptian children, to be instructed in the Greek language, from whom come those who in Ægypt act as interpreters. This district, which is near the sea, somewhat below Bubastis, at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, was inhabited by the Ionians and Carians for a considerable time. At a succeeding period Amasis, to avail himself of their assistance against the Ægyptians, removed them to Memphis. Since the time of their first settlement in Ægypt, they have preserved a constant communication with Greece, so that we have a perfect knowledge of Ægyptian affairs from the reign of Psammitichus. They were the first foreigners whom the Ægyptians received among them: within my remembrance, in the places which they formerly occupied, the docks for their ships, and vestiges of their buildings, might be seen.

CLV. Of the Ægyptian oracle I have spoken

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already,

already, but it so well deserves attention, that I shall expatiate still farther on the subject. It is sacred to Latona, and, as I have before said, in a large city called Buto, at the Sebennitic mouth of the Nile, as approached from the sea. In this city stands a temple of Apollo and Diana; that of Latona, whence the oracular communications are made, is very magnificent, having porticos forty cubits high. What most excited my admiration, was the shrine of the goddess²⁷⁵; it was of one solid stone²⁷⁶, having equal sides; the length of each
 was

²⁷⁵ *Shrine of the goddess.*]—This enormous rock, two hundred and forty feet in circumference, was brought from a quarry in the isle of Philæ, near the cataracts, on rafts, for the space of two hundred leagues, to its destined place, and without contradiction was the heaviest weight ever moved by human power. Many thousand workmen, according to history, were three years employed in taking it to its place of destination.—*Savary*.

²⁷⁶ *One solid stone.*]—About this isle (Elephantine) there are several smaller islands, as two to the west, and four to the south, which are high above the water, and also several large rocks of red granite. Two of them appear to have been worked as quarries, as well as the south end of Elephantine. Out of one of these islands probably that entire room was cut of one stone, that was carried to Sais, taking, it may be, the advantage of the situation of the rock, so as to have only the labour of separating the bottom of it from the quarry, and having first probably hollowed the stone into a room of the dimensions described when I spoke of Sais.—*Pococke*.

In the above remark Pococke is manifestly mistaken; the words of Herodotus decisively contradict him. The stone was not placed in the temple of Minerva at Sais, but in the temple of Latona at Buto, as described in the chapter before us.—*T*.

The grand and sublime ideas which the ancients entertained on subjects of architecture, and other monuments of art, almost
 exceed

was forty cubits ; the roof is of another solid stone, no less than four cubits in substance.

CLVI. Of all the things which here excite attention, this shrine is, in my opinion, the most to be admired. Next to this is the island of Chemmis, which is near the temple of Latona, and stands in a deep and spacious lake ; the Ægyptians affirm it to be a floating island²⁷⁷ : I did not witness the fact, and was astonished to hear that such a thing existed. In this island is a large edifice sacred to Apollo, having three altars, and surrounded by palms, the natural produce of the soil. There are also great varieties of other plants, some of which produce fruit, others are barren. The circumstance of this island's floating the Ægyptians thus explain :

exceed our powers of description. 'This before us is a most extraordinary effort of human industry and power ; but it appears minute and trifling, compared with an undertaking of a man named Stecirates, proposed to Alexander, and recorded by Plutarch. He offered to convert mount Athos into a statue of that prince. This would have been in circumference no less than one hundred and twenty miles, in height ten. The left arm of Alexander was to be the base of a city, capable of containing ten thousand inhabitants. The right arm was to hold an urn, from which a river was to empty itself into the sea.—*T.*

²⁷⁷ *Floating island.*]—I am ignorant whether Chemmis has ever been a floating island. The Greeks pretend that Delos floated. I am persuaded they only invented that fable from the recital of Ægyptians settled amongst them ; and that they attributed to Delos, the birth-place of Apollo, what the Ægyptians related of Chemmis, the place of retreat to their Apollo. A rock two thousand toises long could not float upon the waves ; but the Greeks, who dearly loved the marvellous, did not examine things so closely.—*Larcher.*

it was once fixed and immoveable, when Latona, who has ever been esteemed one of the eight primary divinities, dwelt at Buto. Having received Apollo in trust from Isis, she consecrated and preserved him in this island, which, according to their account, now floats. This happened when Typhon, earnestly endeavouring to discover the son of Osiris, came here. Their tradition says, that Apollo and Diana were the offspring of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. Apollo, Ceres, and Diana, the Ægyptians respectively call Orus, Isis, and Bubastis. From this alone, Æschylus²⁷⁸, son of Euphorion, took his account, the first poet who represented Diana as the daughter of Ceres, and referred to this the circumstance of the island's floating.

CLVII. Psammitichus reigned in Ægypt fifty-four years, twenty-nine of which he consumed in the siege of a great city of Syria, which he afterwards took; the name of this place was Azotus²⁷⁹.

I know

²⁷⁸ *Æschylus.*]—This was doubtless in some piece not come down to us. Pausanias says also, that Æschylus, son of Euphorion, was the first who communicated to the Greeks the Ægyptian history; that Diana was the daughter of Ceres, and not of Latona.—*Larcher.*

The same remark is made by Valcnaer, in Westfeling's edition of Herodotus. But all are united in the opinion, that Pausanias made his remark from this passage of Herodotus.—*T.*

²⁷⁹ *Azotus.*]—The modern name of this place is Ezdoud, of which Volney remarks, that it is now famous only for its scorpions. It was one of the five satrapies of the Philistines, who kept here
the

I know not that any town ever sustained so long and obstinate a siege.

CLVIII. Psammitichus had a son, whose name was Necos, by whom he was succeeded in his authority. This prince first commenced that canal²⁸⁰

the idol of their god Dagon. Its scriptural name was Ashdod. When the Philistines took the ark from the Jews, they placed it in the temple of Dagon, at Ashdod. See 1 Samuel, chap. v. 2, 3.

"When the Philistines took the ark of God, they took it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon.

"And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord," &c.

This place is also mentioned in the Acts. Philip, having baptized the eunuch of Candace, was caught away by the Spirit of the Lord, and found at Azotus. There is still in this place an old structure, with fine marble pillars, which the inhabitants say was the house which Samson pulled down.—7.

²⁸⁰ *That canal.*]—The account given by Diodorus Siculus is this:—The canal reaching from the Pelusian mouth of the Nile to the Sinus Arabicus and the Red Sea, was made by hands. Necos, the son of Psammitichus, was the first that attempted it, and after him Darius the Persian carried on the work something farther, but left it at length unfinished; for he was informed by some, that in thus digging through the isthmus he would cause Ægypt to be deluged, for they shewed him that the Red Sea was higher than the land of Ægypt. Afterwards Ptolemy the Second finished the canal, and in the most proper place contrived a sluice for confining the water, which was opened when they wanted to sail through, and was immediately closed again, the use of it answering extremely well the design. The river flowing through this canal is called the Ptolemæan, from the name of its author. Where it discharges itself into the sea it has a city named Arsinoë. Of this canal Norden remarks, that he was unable to discover the smallest trace, either in the town of Kieni, or the adjacent parts.

leading

leading to the Red Sea, which Darius, king of Persia, afterwards continued. The length of this canal is equal to a four days voyage, and it is wide enough to admit two triremes abreast. The water enters it from the Nile, a little above the city Bubastis: it terminated in the Red Sea, not far from Patumos, an Arabian town. They began to sink this canal in that part of Ægypt which is nearest Arabia. Contiguous to it is a mountain which stretches towards Memphis, and contains quarries of stone. Commencing at the foot of this, it extends from west to east, through a considerable tract of country, and where a mountain opens to the south is discharged into the Arabian gulph. From the northern to the southern, or, as it is generally called, the Red Sea, the shortest passage is over mount Cassius, which divides Ægypt from Syria, from whence to the Arabian gulph are a thousand stadia. The way by the canal, on account of the different circumflexions, is considerably longer. In the prosecution of this work, under Necos, no less than one hundred and twenty thousand Ægyptians perished. He at length desisted from his undertaking, being admonished by an oracle, that all his labour would turn to the advantage of a barbarian; and it is to be observed, that the Ægyptians term all barbarians who speak a language different from their own.

CLIX. As soon as Necos discontinued his labours with respect to the canal, he turned all his thoughts to military enterprizes. He built vessels
of

of war, both on the Northern Ocean, and in that part of the Arabian gulph which is near the Red Sea. Vestiges of his naval undertakings are still to be seen. His fleets were occasionally employed, but he also by land conquered the Syrians in an engagement near the town of Magdolum²⁸¹, and after his victory obtained possession of Cadytis²⁸², a Syrian city. The vest which he wore when he got this victory he consecrated to Apollo, and sent to the Milesian Branchidæ. After a reign of seventeen years, he died, leaving the kingdom to his son Psammis.

CLX. During the reign of this prince, some ambassadors arrived in Ægypt from the Eleans. This people boasted that the establishment of the Olympic games possessed every excellence, and was not surpassed even by the Ægyptians, though the wisest of mankind. On their arrival, they explained the motives of their journey; in consequence of which the

²⁸¹ *Magdolum.*]—The battle here mentioned was against Josias, king of Judah. It did not take place at Magdolum, a place in Lower Ægypt, but at Magiddo. The resemblance of the names deceived Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

²⁸² *Cadytis.*]—This city of Cadytis could be no other than Jerusalem. Herodotus afterwards describes this to be a mountainous city in Palestine, of the bigness of Sardis. There could be no other equal to Sardis, but Jerusalem. It is certain from Scripture, that after this battle Necos did take Jerusalem, for he was there when he made Jehoiakim king.—*See Pruteaux, Connec. i. 56—7.*

D'Anville also considers Cadytis as Jerusalem, though some authors dissent.—*T.*

prince called a meeting of the wisest of his subjects: at this assembly the Eleans described the particular regulations they had established; and desired to know if the Ægyptians could recommend any improvement. After some deliberation, the Ægyptians enquired whether their fellow-citizens were permitted to contend at these games. They were informed in reply, that all the Greeks without distinction were suffered to contend. The Ægyptians observed, that this must of course lead to injustice, for it was impossible not to favour their fellow-citizens, in preference to strangers. If, therefore, the object of their voyage to Ægypt was to render their regulations perfect, they should suffer only strangers to contend in their games, and particularly exclude the Eleans.

CLXI. Psammis reigned but six years; he made an expedition to Æthiopia, and died soon afterwards. He was succeeded by his son Apries²⁸³, who, next to his grandfather Psammitichus, was fortunate²⁸⁴ beyond all his predecessors, and reigned

²⁸³ *Apries.*]—This is the same who in Scripture is called Pharaoh Hophra. It was at this period that Ezekiel was carried to Jerusalem, and shewn the different kinds of idolatry then practised by the Jews, which makes up the subject of the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of his prophecies.—See *Prideaux*.

²⁸⁴ *Was fortunate.*]—Herodotus in this place seemingly contradicts himself: how could he be termed most fortunate, who was dethroned and strangled by his subjects? He probably, as M. Larcher also observes, means to be understood of the time preceding the revolt.—*T.*

five-and-twenty years²⁸⁵. He made war upon Sidon, and engaged the king of Tyre in battle by sea. I shall briefly mention in this place the calamities which afterwards befel him; but shall discuss them more fully²⁸⁶ when I treat of the Libyan affairs. Apries having sent an army against the Cyreneans, received a severe check. This misfortune the Egyptians ascribed to his own want of conduct; and imagining themselves marked out for destruction, revolted from his authority. They supposed his views were, by destroying them, to secure his tyranny over the rest of their country. The friends, therefore, of such as had been slain, with those who returned in safety, openly rebelled.

CLXII. On discovery of this, Apries sent Amasis to soothe the malcontents. Whilst this officer was persuading them to desist from their purpose, an Egyptian standing behind him placed an helmet on his head²⁸⁷, saying that by this act he had made him king. The sequel proved that Amasis was not averse²⁸⁸ to the deed; for as soon as the rebels had declared

²⁸⁵ *Five-and-twenty years.*]—Diodorus Siculus says he reigned twenty-two years; Syncellus nineteen.

²⁸⁶ *Discuss them more fully.*]—This refers to book the fourth, chap. clix. of our author; but Herodotus probably forgot the engagement here made, for no particulars of the misfortunes of Apries are there mentioned—*T.*

²⁸⁷ *Helmet on his head.*]—The helmet in Egypt was the distinction of royalty.

²⁸⁸ *Was not averse.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that Amasis, so far from making any great effort to bring back those who had abandoned

declared him king, he prepared to march against Apries; on intelligence of this event, the king sent Patarbemis, one of the most faithful of those who yet adhered to him, with directions to bring Amasis alive to his presence. Arriving where he was, he called to Amasis. Amasis was on horseback, and lifting up his leg, he broke wind, and bade him carry that to his master. Patarbemis persisted in desiring him to obey the king; this, Amasis replied, he had long determined to do, that Apries should have no reason to complain of him, for he would soon be with him, and bring others also. Of the purport of this answer Patarbemis was well aware; taking, therefore, particular notice of the hostile preparations of the rebels, he returned, intending instantly to inform the king of his danger. Apries, when he saw him, without hearing him speak, as he did not bring Amasis, ordered his nose and ears to be cut off. The Ægyptians of his party, incensed at this treatment of a man much and deservedly respected, immediately went over to Amasis.

CLXIII. Apries on this put himself at the head of his Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, who were with him to the amount of thirty thousand men, and marched against the Ægyptians. Departing from Sais, where he had a magnificent palace, he proceeded against his subjects; Amasis also prepared to meet his master and the foreign mercenaries. The

abandoned Apries, according to the orders he had received from his master, encouraged them to persist in their rebellion, and joined himself to them.

two armies met at Momemphis, and made ready for battle.

CLXIV. The Ægyptians are divided into seven classes²⁸⁹. These are the priests, the military, herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and pilots. They take their names from their professions. Ægypt is divided into provinces, and the soldiers from those which they inhabit are called Calasries and Hermotybies.

CLXV. The Hermotybian district contains Busris, Sais, Chemmis, Papremis, the island of Propolis, and part of Natho; which places, at the highest calculation, furnish one hundred and sixty thousand Hermotybians. These, avoiding all mercantile employments, follow the profession of arms²⁹⁰.

CLXVI.

²⁸⁹ *Seven classes.*]—I have remarked on this subject, chap. xli. from Diodorus, that the division of the Ægyptians was in fact but into three classes, the last of which was subdivided into others.

The Indians are divided into four principal casts, each of which is again subdivided—Bramins, the military, labourers, and artizans.—*T.*

It is observable of the Iberians, that they were divided into different casts, each of which had its proper function. The rank and office of every tribe were hereditary and unchangeable. This rule of invariable distinction prevailed no where else except in India and in Ægypt.—*Bryant.*

²⁹⁰ *Profession of arms.*]—With the following remark of M. Larcher, the heart of every Englishman must be in unison. To hear a native of France avow an abhorrence of despotism, and

CLXVI. The Calasirians inhabit Thebes, Bubastis, Aphis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennis, Athribis, Pharbæthis,

a warm attachment to liberty, has, till within a late period, been a most unusual circumstance. On the subject of standing armies, nothing, perhaps, has been written with greater energy and effect than by Mr. Moyle.

“Every country,” says M. Larcher, “which encourages a standing army of foreigners, and where the profession of arms is the road to the highest honours, is either enslaved, or on the point of being so. Foreign soldiers in arms, are never so much the defenders of the citizens, as the attendants of the despot. Patriotism, that passion of elevated souls, which prompts us to noble actions, weakens and expires. The interest which forms an union betwixt the prince and his subjects, ceases to be the same, and the real defence of the state can no longer be vigorous. Of this Ægypt is a proof: its despots, not satisfied with the national troops, always ready for service, had recourse to foreign mercenaries. They were depressed, and passed with little difficulty under the dominion of the Persians, afterwards under that of Greece and of Rome, of the Mamelukes, and the Turks. The tyrant could not be loved by his slaves, and without the love of his subjects, the prince totters on his throne, and is ready to fall when he thinks his situation the most secure.”

“Amongst men,” says Æschines, “there are three sorts of governments, monarchic, oligarchic, and republican. Monarchies and oligarchies are governed by the caprice of those who have the management of affairs, republics by established laws. Know then, Oh Athenians! that a free people preserve their liberty and lives by the laws, monarchies and oligarchies by tyranny and a standing army.”

To the above I cannot resist the inclination I have to add from Mr. Moyle the underwritten.

“The Israelites, Athenians, Corinthians, Achæians, Lacedæmonians, Thebans, Samnites, and Romans, none of them, when they kept their liberty, were ever known to maintain any soldier in constant pay within their cities, or ever suffered any of their

Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anyfis, and Mycephoris, which is an island opposite to Bubastis. In their most perfect state of population, these places furnish two hundred and fifty thousand men. Neither must these follow mechanic employments, but the son regularly succeeds the father ²⁹¹ in a military life.

CLXVII. I am not able to decide whether the Greeks borrowed this last-mentioned custom from the Ægyptians, for I have also seen it observed in various parts of Thrace, Scythia, Persia, and Lydia. It seems, indeed, to be an established prejudice, even among nations the least refined, to consider mechanics and their descendants in the lowest rank of citizens, and to esteem those as the most noble

their subjects to make war their profession, well knowing that the sword and sovereignty always march hand in hand.”—*T.*

²⁹¹ *Regularly succeeds the father.*]—We know very well, that nothing is more injurious to the police or municipal constitution of any city or colony, than the forcing of a particular trade; nothing more dangerous than the over-peopling any manufacture, or multiplying the traders and dealers of whatever vocation, beyond their natural proportion, and the public demand. Now it happened of old in Ægypt, the mother land of superstition, that the sons of certain artists were by law obliged always to follow the same calling with their father.—See *Lord Shaftesbury’s Miscellaneous Reflections*.

Before the invention of letters, mankind may be said to have been perpetually in their infancy, as the arts of one age or country generally died with their possessors. Whence arose the policy which still continues in Indostan, of obliging the son to practise the profession of his father.—See notes to a poem, called *The Loves of the Plants*, p. 58.

who were of no profession, annexing the highest degrees of honour to the exercise of arms. This idea prevails throughout Greece, but more particularly at Lacedæmon; the Corinthians, however, do not hold mechanics in disesteem.

CLXVIII. The soldiers and the priests are the only ranks in Ægypt who are honourably distinguished; these each of them receive from the public a portion of ground of twelve acres, free from all taxes. Each acre contains an hundred Ægyptian cubits, which are the same as so many cubits of Samos. Besides this, the military enjoy in their turns other advantages: one thousand Calasirians and as many Hermotybians are every year on duty as the king's guards; whilst on this service, in addition to their assignments of land, each man has a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of beef, with four arusteres²⁹² of wine.

CLXIX. Apries with his auxiliaries, and Amasis at the head of the Ægyptians, met and fought at Momemphis. The mercenaries displayed great valour, but being much inferior in number, were ultimately defeated. Of the permanence of his authority, Apries is said to have entertained so high an opinion, that he conceived it not to be in the power even of a deity to dethrone him. He was, however, conquered and taken prisoner; after his captivity he

²⁹² *Arusteres*.]—Hesychius makes the word *αρυστη* synonymous with *κοτυλη*, which is a measure somewhat less than a pint.—T.

was conducted to Sais, to what was formerly his own, but then the palace of Amasis. He was here confined for some time, and treated by Amasis with much kindness and attention. But the Ægyptians soon began to reproach him for preserving a person who was their common enemy, and he was induced to deliver up Apries to their power. They strangled²⁹³, and afterwards buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, which stands in the temple of Minerva, on the left side of the vestibule. In this temple the inhabitants of Sais buried all the princes who were of their province, but the tomb of Amasis is more remote from the building, than that of Apries and his ancestors.

CLXX. In the area before this temple stands a

²⁹³ *They strangled, &c.*]—It is to this prince, whom, as I before mentioned, the Scriptures denote by the name of Pharaoh Hophra, that the following passages allude.

“The land of Ægypt shall be desolate and waste, and they shall know that I am the Lord: because he hath said, The river is mine, and I have made it.

“Behold, therefore, I am against thee, and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Ægypt utterly waste and desolate.” Ezekiel, xxix. 9, 10.

“Thus saith the Lord, I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Ægypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life.” Jeremiah, xlv. 9.

See also Jeremiah, xliiii. xlv. Ezekiel, xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. In the person of Apries all these prophecies were accomplished. See also *Prideaux Connect.* i. 39.—*T.*

“Apries was persuaded that neither God nor the divell could have joynted his nose of the empyre.”—*Herodotus his second booke, intituled Euterpe.*

large marble edifice, magnificently adorned with obelisks, in the shape of palm-trees, with various other ornaments; in this are two doors, forming an entrance to the monument. They have also at Sais the tomb of a certain personage, whom I do not think myself permitted to specify. It is behind the temple of Minerva, and is continued the whole length of the wall of that building. Around this are many large obelisks, near which is a lake, whose banks are lined with stone; it is of a circular form, and as I should think as large as that of Delos, which is called Trochoeides.

CLXXI. Upon this lake are represented by night the accidents which happened to him whom I dare not name: the Ægyptians call them their mysteries²⁹⁴. Concerning these, at the same time that I confess myself sufficiently informed, I feel myself compelled to be silent. Of the ceremonies also in honour of Ceres, which the Greeks call Thesmophoria²⁹⁵, I
may

²⁹⁴ *Their mysteries.*]—How very sacred the ancients deemed their mysteries, appears from the following passage of Apollonius Rhodius.

To Samothrace, Electra's isle, they steer,
That there initiated in rites divine
Safe might they sail the navigable brine.
But, muse, presume not of those rites to tell:
Farewell, dread isle, dire deities, farewell!
Let not my verse those mysteries explain,
To name is impious, to reveal profane.

²⁹⁵ *Thesmophoria.*]—These mysteries were celebrated at stated seasons

may not venture to speak, further than the obligations of religion will allow me. They were brought from Ægypt by the daughters of Danaus, and by them revealed to the Pelasgian women. But when

seasons of the year, with solemn shows, and a great pomp of machinery, which drew a mighty concourse to them from all countries. L. Crassus, the great orator, happened to come two days after they were over, and would gladly have persuaded the magistrates to renew them; but not being able to prevail, left the city in disgust. This shews how cautious they were of making them too cheap. The shows are supposed to have represented heaven, hell, elysium, purgatory, and all that related to the future state of the dead: being contrived to inculcate more sensibly, and exemplify the doctrines delivered to the initiated. As they were a proper subject for poetry, so they are frequently alluded to by the ancient poets. This confirms also the probability of that ingenious comment which the author of the Divine Legation has given in the sixth book of the Æneid, where Virgil, as he observes, in describing the descent into hell, is but tracing out in their genuine order the several scenes of the Eleusinian shows.—*Middlton's Life of Cicero.*

These feasts were celebrated in honour of Ceres, with respect to her character as a lawgiver:

Prima Ceres unco glebam dimovit aratro
Prima dedit fruges, alimentaque mitia terris;
Prima dedit leges. Cereris sumus omnia munus.

Θεσμοί, according to Hesychius, signifies a divine law, νόμος θεσμός. The men were not allowed to be present, and only women of superior rank. The sacred books were carried by virgins. According to Ovid, they continued nine days, during which time the women had no connection with their husbands.

Festa piæ Cereris celebrabant annua matres
Illa, quibus nivea velatæ corpora veste
Primitias frugum dant spicea farta suarum:
Perque novem noctes Venerem tactusque viriles
In vetitis numerant.—

the tranquillity of the Peloponnese was disturbed by the Dorians, and the ancient inhabitants expelled, these rites were insensibly neglected or forgotten. The Arcadians, who retained their original habitations, were the only people who preserved them.

CLXXII. Such being the fate of Apries, Amasis, who was of the city of Siuph, in the district of Sais, succeeded to the throne. At the commencement of his reign, the Ægyptians, remembering his plebeian origin²⁹⁶, held him in contempt; but his mild conduct and political sagacity afterwards conciliated their affections. Among other valuables which he possessed was a gold vessel, in which he and his guests were accustomed to spit, make water, and wash their feet: of the materials of this he made a statue of some god, which he placed in the most conspicuous part of the city. The Ægyptians assembling before it, paid it divine honours: on hearing which the king called them together, and informed them that the image they thus venerated was made of a vessel of gold which he and they had formerly used for the most unseemly purposes. He afterwards explained to them the similar circumstances of his own fortune, who, though formerly a plebeian, was now their sovereign, and entitled to their reverence.

²⁹⁶ *Plebeian origin.*]—We are told in Athenæus, that the rise of Amasis was owing to his having presented Apries on his birth-day with a beautiful chaplet of flowers. The king was so delighted with this mark of his attention, that he invited him to the feast, and received him amongst the number of his friends.

By such means he secured their attachment, as well as their submissive obedience to his authority.

CLXXIII. The same prince thus regulated his time : from the dawn of the day to such time as the public square of the city was filled with people, he gave audience to whoever required it. The rest of the day he spent at the table, where he drank, laughed, and diverted himself with his guests, indulging in every species of licentious conversation. Upon this conduct some of his friends remonstrated : — “ Sir,” they observed, “ do you not dishonour your
“ rank by these excessive and unbecoming levities ?
“ From your awful throne you ought to employ
“ yourself in the administration of public affairs, and
“ by such conduct increase the dignity of your name,
“ and the veneration of your subjects. Your present
“ life is most unworthy of a king.” “ They,” replied Amasis, “ who have a bow, bend it only at the
“ time they want it; when not in use, they suffer it to
“ be relaxed, it would otherwise break, and not be of
“ service when exigence required. It is precisely
“ the same with a man ; if without some intervals of
“ amusement, he applied himself constantly to serious
“ pursuits, he would imperceptibly lose his vigour
“ both of mind and body. It is the conviction of
“ this truth which influences me in the division of
“ my time.”

CLXXIV. Of this Amasis it is asserted, that whilst he was in a private condition he avoided every serious avocation, and gave himself entirely up
to

to drinking and jollity. If at any time he wanted money for his expensive pleasures, he had recourse to robbery. By those who suspected him as the author of their loss, he was frequently, on his protesting himself innocent, carried before the oracle, by which he was frequently condemned, and as often acquitted. As soon as he obtained the supreme authority, such deities as had pronounced him innocent he treated with the greatest contumely, neglecting their temples, and never offering them either presents or sacrifice; this he did by way of testifying his dislike of their false declarations. Such, however, as decided on his guilt, in testimony of their truth and justice, he revered as true gods, with every mark of honour and esteem.

CLXXV. In honour of Minerva this prince erected at Sais a magnificent portico, exceeding every thing of the kind in size and grandeur. The stones of which it was composed were of a very uncommon size and quality, and decorated with a number of colossal statues and androsphinxes²⁹⁷ of enormous magnitude.

²⁹⁷ *Androsphinxes*.]—This was a monstrous figure, with the body of a lion, and face of a man. The artists of Ægypt, however, commonly represented the sphinx with the body of a lion, and the face of a young woman. These were generally placed at the entrance of temples, to serve as a type of the enigmatic nature of the Ægyptian theology.—*Larcher*.

“Les sphinx des Égyptiens ont les deux sexes, c’est à dire qu’ils sont femelles par devant, ayant une tête de femme, & males derriere, où les testicules sont apparentes. C’est une remarque personne n’avoit encore faite :

magnitude. To repair this temple he also collected stones of an amazing thickness, part of which he brought from the quarries of Memphis, and part from the city of Elephantine, which is distant from Sais a journey of about twenty days. But what, in my opinion, is most of all to be admired, was an edifice which he brought from Elephantine, constructed of

“ Il résulte de l'inspection de quelques monumens que les artistes Grecs donnoient aussi des natures composées a ces êtres mixtes, et qu'ils faisoient même des sphinx barba, comme le prouve un bas relief en terre cuite, conservé a la Farnesina. Lorsque Herodote nommes les sphinx des androsphynge, il a voulu designer par cette expression la duplicité de leur sexe. Les sphinx qui sont aux quatre faces de la pointe de l'obelisque du soleil, sont remarquables par leur mains d'hommes armées d'ongles crochus, comme les griffes des bêtes féroces.”—*Winkelmann*.

Dr. Pococke observes, that this sphinx is cut out of a solid rock. This extraordinary monument is said to have been the sepulchre of Amasis, though I think it is mentioned by none of the ancient authors, except Pliny.

M. Maillet is of opinion, that the union of the head of a virgin with the body of a lion, is a symbol of what happens in Egypt when the sun is in the signs of Leo and Virgo, and the Nile overflows.—*See Norden's Travels*.

Opposite the second pyramid, eastward, is the enormous sphinx, the whole body of which is buried in the sand, the top of the back only to be seen, which is above a hundred feet long, and is of a single stone, making part of the rock on which, the pyramids rest. Its head rises about seven-and-twenty feet above the sand. Mahomet has taught the Arabs to hold all images of men or animals in detestation, and they have disfigured the face with their arrows and lances.

M. Paw says, these sphinxes, the body of which is half a virgin, half a lion, are images of the deity, whom they represent as an hermaphrodite.—*Savary*.

one entire stone. The carriage of it employed two thousand men, all of whom were pilots, an entire period of three years. The length of this structure on the outside is twenty-one cubits, it is fourteen wide, and eight high; in the inside the length of it is twenty-two cubits and twenty digits, twelve cubits wide, and five high. It is placed at the entrance of the temple; the reason it was carried no further is this; the architect, reflecting upon his long and continued fatigue, sighed deeply, which incident Amasis construed as an omen, and obliged him to desist. Some, however, affirm that one of those employed to move it by levers, was crushed by it, for which reason it was advanced no farther.

CLXXVI. To other temples also Amasis made many and magnificent presents. At Memphis, before the temple of Vulcan, he placed a colossal recumbent figure, which was seventy-five feet long. Upon the same pediment are two other colossal figures, formed out of the same stone, and each twenty feet high. Of the same size, and in the same attitude, another colossal statue may be seen at Sais. This prince built also at Memphis the temple of Isis, the grandeur of which excites universal admiration.

CLXXVII. With respect to all those advantages which the river confers upon the soil, and the soil on the inhabitants, the reign of Amasis was fortunate for the Ægyptians, who under this prince could
boast

boast of twenty thousand cities ²⁹⁸ well inhabited. Amasis is further remarkable for having instituted that law which obliges every Ægyptian once in the year to explain to the chief magistrate of his district the means by which he obtains his subsistence. The refusal to comply with this ordinance, or the not being able to prove that a livelihood was procured by honest means, was a capital offence. This law Solon ²⁹⁹ borrowed from Ægypt, and established at Athens,

²⁹⁸ *Twenty thousand cities.*]—This country was once the most populous of the known world, and now it does not appear inferior to any. In ancient times it had eighteen thousand as well considerable towns as cities, as may be seen by the sacred registers. In the time of Ptolemy Lagus there were three thousand, which still remain. In a general account once taken of the inhabitants, they amounted to seven thousand, and there are no less than three millions at present.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

Ancient Ægypt supplied food to eight millions of inhabitants, and to Italy and the neighbouring provinces likewise. At present the estimate is not one half. I do not think, with Herodotus and Pliny, that this kingdom contained twenty thousand cities in the time of Amasis: but the astonishing ruins every where to be found, and in uninhabited places, prove they must have been thrice as numerous as they are.—*Savary.*

It is impracticable to form a just estimate of the population of Ægypt. Nevertheless, as it is known that the number of towns and villages does not exceed two thousand three hundred, and the number of inhabitants in each of them, one with another, including Cairo itself, is not more than a thousand, the total cannot be more than two millions three hundred thousand.—*Volney.*

²⁹⁹ *This law Solon.*]—It should rather seem that this law was established at Athens by Dracon, and that Solon commuted the punishment of death to that of infamy, against all those who had thrice offended.

where

where it still remains in force, experience having proved its wisdom.

CLXXVIII. This king was very partial to the Greeks, and favoured them upon every occasion. Such as wished to have a regular communication with Ægypt, he permitted to have a settlement at Naucratis. To others, who did not require a fixed residence, as being only engaged in occasional commerce, he assigned certain places for the construction of altars, and the performance of their religious rites. The most spacious and celebrated temple which the Greeks have they call Hellenium. It was built at the joint expence of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ; of the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; of the Æolians of Mitylene only. Hellenium is the common property of all these cities, who also appoint proper officers for the regulation of their commerce: the claims of other cities to these distinctions and privileges is absurd and false. The Æginetæ, it must be observed, constructed by themselves a temple to Jupiter, as did the Samians to Juno, and the Milesians to Apollo.

CLXXIX. Formerly Naucratis was the sole emporium of Ægypt; whoever came to any other than the Canopian mouth of the Nile, was compelled to swear that it was entirely accidental, and was in the same vessel obliged to go thither. Naucratis was held in such great estimation, that if contrary winds prevented a passage, the merchant was obliged

obliged to move his goods on board the common boats of the river, and carry them round the Delta to Naucratis.

CLXXX. By some accident the ancient temple of Delphi was once consumed by fire, and the Amphietyons had voted a sum of three hundred talents to be levied for the purpose of rebuilding it. A fourth part of this was assigned to the Delphians, who to collect their quota went about to different cities, and obtained a very considerable sum from Ægypt. Amasis presented them³⁰⁰ with a thousand talents of alum. The Greeks who resided in Ægypt made a collection of twenty minæ.

CLXXXI. This king made a strict and amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians, to cement which he determined to take a wife of that country, either to shew his particular attachment to the Cyrenians, or his partiality to a woman of Greece. She whom he married is reported by some to have been the daughter of Battus, by others of Arcesilaus, or as some say of Critobulus. She was certainly descended of an honourable family, and her name

³⁰⁰ *Amasis presented them.*]—Different species of animals were the deities of the different sects among the Ægyptians; and the deities being in continual war, engaged their votaries in the same contention. The worshippers of dogs could not long remain in peace with the adorers of cats and wolves. But where that reason took not place, the Ægyptian superstition was not so incompatible as is commonly imagined, since we learn from Herodotus, that very large contributions were given by Amasis towards rebuilding the temple of Delphi.—*Hume.*

was Ladice. When the nuptials came to be consummated, the king found himself afflicted with an imbecility which he experienced with no other woman. The continuance of this induced him thus to address his wife; "You have certainly practised some charm to my injury; expect not therefore to escape, but prepare to undergo the most cruel death." When the woman found all expostulations ineffectual, she vowed, in the temple of Venus, that if on the following night her husband should be able to enjoy her, she would present a statue to her at Cyrene." Her wishes were accomplished, Amasis found his vigour restored, and ever afterwards distinguished her by the kindest affection. Ladice performed her vow, and sent a statue to Venus; it has remained to my time, and may be seen near the city of Cyrene. This same Ladice, when Cambyſes afterwards conquered Ægypt, was, as soon as he discovered who she was, sent back without injury to Cyrene.

CLXXXII. Numerous were the marks of liberality which Amasis bestowed on Greece. To Cyrene he sent a golden statue of Minerva, with a portrait of himself³⁰¹. To the temple of Minerva at Lindus

he

³⁰¹ *Portrait of himself.*]—The art of painting was probably known in Ægypt in the first ages, but they do not seem to have succeeded in this art better than in sculpture. Antiquity does not mention any painter or sculptor of Ægypt, who had acquired celebrity.—*Savary.*

At what period we may venture to date the first origin of painting,

he gave two marble statues, with a linen corselet, which well deserves inspection. Two figures of himself,

painting, is a subject involved in great difficulty. Perhaps we are not extravagant in saying, that it was known in the time of the Trojan war. The following note is to be found in Servius, Annot. ad *Æneid.* ii. ver. 392. "*Scutis Græcorum, Neptunus, Trojanorum fuit Minerva depicta.*"

With respect to the *Ægyptians*, it is asserted by Tacitus, that they knew the art of designing before they were acquainted with letters. "*Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant et antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impressa faxis cernuntur.*" *Annal.* lib. x. cap. 14.

It is ingeniously remarked by Webb, in favour of the antiquity of painting, that when the Spaniards first arrived in America, the news was sent to the emperor in painted expresses, they not having at that time the use of letters.

Mr. Norden says, that in the higher *Ægypt* to this day may be seen, amongst the ruins of superb edifices, marbles artificially stained, so exquisitely fresh in point of colour, that they seem recently dismissed from the hand of the artist. Winkelmann says, that in the *Ægyptian* mummies which have been minutely examined, there are apparent the six distinct colours of white, black, blue, red, yellow, and green; but these, in point of effect, are contemptible, compared with the columns alluded to above, seen and described by Norden. Pococke also tells us, that in the ruins of the palaces of the kings of Thebes, the picture of the king is painted at full length on stone. Both the sides and ceilings of the room in which this is to be seen are cut with hieroglyphics of birds and beasts, and some of them painted, being as fresh as if they were but just finished, though they must be above two thousand years old.

The ancient heathens were accustomed to paint their idols of a red colour, as appears from the following extract from the Wisdom of Solomon:

"The carpenter carved it diligently when he had nothing else to do, and formed it by the skill of his understanding, and

himself, carved in wood, he presented to the temple of Juno at Samos; they were placed immediately behind the gates, where they still remain. His kindness to Samos was owing to the hospitality³⁰² which subsisted between him and Polycrates, the son of Æax. He had no such motive of attachment to Lindus, but was moved by the report that the temple of Minerva there was erected by the daughters of Danaus, when they fled from the sons of Ægyptus.—Such was the munificence of Amasis, who was also the first person that conquered Cyprus, and compelled it to pay him tribute.

fashioned it to the image of a man, or made it like some vile beast, laying it over with vermillion, and with paint colouring it red, and covering every spot therein.”

It seems rather a far-fetched explanation, to say that this was done because the first statues were set up in memory of warriors, remarkable for shedding much blood. Yet it is so interpreted in Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture. Of ancient painting the reliques are indeed but few; but those extolled by Pococke and Norden, and the beautiful specimens which have at different times been dug up at Herculaneum, are sufficient to shew that the artists possessed extraordinary excellence. That in particular of Chiron and Achilles, which many ingenious men have not scrupled to ascribe to Parrhasius, is said to be remarkably beautiful.

The great founder of the art of painting in ancient Greece was Zeuxis, as was Michael Angelo amongst the moderns.—T.

³⁰² Hospitality.]—That tie among the ancients, which was ratified by particular ceremonies, and considered as the most sacred of all engagements: nor dissolved except with certain solemn forms, and for weighty reasons.

